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## China's Revolt Against the Old Order I.—The Progress of Events

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THE important events of the month in China were the definite breach between Chiang Kai-shek and the Han-kow Communists and the continuance of peaceable negotiations between the Nationalists and the Powers over the Nanking affair and between Peking and Moscow over the Russian Embassy raid. Five controversies between parties, factions, or bodies of opinion within the various countries may be considered.

(1) Within China itself the controversy between the Ankuochun, led by Chang Tso-lin, and the Kuomintang, led by Chiang Kai-shek, came for the time being to a dead-lock. There were minor advances and withdrawals of the Nationalist armies north of the Yangtse—Pukow, across from Nanking, was taken and lost—but in the main the Yangtse was the military front at this writing. It was reported on March 10 that Chang Tso-lin had declared himself ready to negotiate with Chiang Kai-shek if the latter could purge his party of Communist influence. The Japanese press seemed to be convinced that such a reconciliation was possible. At the same time Chang Tso-lin was attempting to reorganize the armies of

Sun Chuan-fang and Chang Tsung-chang together with his own Fengtien army for a southern drive and to get assistance from the Powers in the form of loans, sorely needed to maintain government in Peking and overtaxed Manchuria, munitions, and military advisers by holding before them the bogey of Bolshevism. His raid of the Soviet buildings in Peking was to get evidence for that purpose, though according to Walter Duranty, now at Peking, the documents seized, though genuine, are "neither novel nor particularly exciting."

Chiang-Kai-shek appeared to have little confidence in the patriotism of Chang Tso-lin, but considered the unification of China possible only under the Kuomintang party, now organized all over China and bound together by the tradition of Sun Yat-sen. Chiang was organizing his forces for a drive north from the Yangtse in which he expected to be assisted by Feng Yu-hsing, whose army had been dormant for some months in Shensi province. According to *The United States Army and Navy Journal* on April 22, Chang Tso-lin had about 350,000 men in all, while the Nationalists had 210,000, of which 120,000 were under Feng





Map of the Chinese Republic, which consists of China proper, Manchuria, Mongolia, Chinese or East Turkestan (Sinkiang) and Tibet



Map of Shanghai and neighboring territory



and 90,000 under Chiang. Wu Pei-fu, with about 50,000, was more or less neutral. Admiral W. H. V. Bullard of the United States Navy, who returned from China on April 8, expressed the opinion that the Kuomintang would eventually win because their forces "have definitely mapped out a program of procedure and are fighting for a principle, while the Northern forces have no definite program or procedure."

(2) Chiang Kai-shek's drive, however,

bers of the Hankow Government, including Shu Chien, Minister of Justice, Tung Ping-shan, Minister of Agriculture, Chen Ta-shi, head of the Communist Party, and General Teng Yen-ta, Chief of the Political Bureau, were impeached. Eugene Chen, the Foreign Minister, was not named, as he was believed to be loyal to the Kuomintang, though he had recently been under Communist influence. Open warfare between Nanking and Hankow was expected. On April 17, thirty



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Chinese Nationalists, carrying Bolshevist and Nationalist flags, parading through the streets of Shanghai immediately after the Northern troops left the city before the victorious onslaught of the Nationalist forces in the latter part of March

was delayed by the split in his own party. Signs of trouble between himself and the radical Nationalist Government at Hankow began to be evident early in April. On April 8 Chiang authorized the statement that he would attend a meeting of the Central Executive Committee at Nanking on April 15. "Contrary to expectations," continued the statement, "while hostilities are in progress Teng Yen-ta's party in Hankow has brought evidences of a breach." The Nanking meeting on the 15th resulted in a move to purge the party of Communist influence. The arrest of Michael Borodin and other Russian Communists was ordered and important mem-

Communists in Canton were reported executed, seventy injured and 2,000 arrested, with the result that the moderates now control the party there. At the same time the Hankow radicals dismissed Chiang as Commander-in-Chief and appointed the Christian general Feng as his successor. It appeared, however, that the latter was on Chiang's side. On April 19, in behalf of the Nanking Government, Chiang issued a statement insisting that the original spirit of the revolution under Sun Yat-sen must continue, that Nanking must be the capital, partly because Sun was buried there, and that military cliques, as well as foreign oppression, must cease. Ku Ying-fang was





International

Barbed wire entanglements protecting the International Settlement, Shanghai



Wide World

British soldiers on guard at the barbed wire defences protecting the International Settlement, Shanghai



announced as Finance Minister to succeed T. V. Soong, brother-in-law of Sun Yat-sen. C. T. Wang, former Premier of China and now an important figure in the Kuomintang, expressed the opinion that Chiang Kai-shek would succeed in ousting the radicals and preserving the party. He thought Madame Sun Yat-sen secretly favored him. Yen Hsi-shan, the "model Tuchun" of Shansi province since 1916 and heretofore neutral in the civil wars, was said to have come out for Chiang Kai-shek

Communists who gained control of Hankow and have been attempting to divert the Kuomintang from Nationalism to Communism. Stalin, however, who is now in control, "will do his utmost to restore Kuomintang unity, even at the sacrifice of the more extreme Chinese Communists," says Duranty. This is borne out by the news from Moscow on April 21 that the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party had approved the Political Bureau's report on Soviet policy in China,



Wide World

Shanghai Harbor, showing Chinese river boats in the foreground and battleships of foreign nations in the background

and to be organizing a military force to drive Chang Tso-lin back to Manchuria.

#### SPLIT AMONG RUSSIAN COMMUNISTS

(3) The outcome of the present split in the Kuomintang depends to some extent upon the division among the Russian Communists themselves. Joseph Stalin, the real power at Moscow, is in favor of the "New Economic Policy" and of developing trade and normal international relations with the capitalistic Powers, and opposes the less compromising Communism of Radek, Trotsky, Kamenev and Zinoviev, who still anticipate the world revolution. According to Duranty most of the Soviet advisers in China favor the more moderate policy of Stalin, but there are Chinese Communists who get their ideas from Karl Radek's Moscow Chinese University. It is these

drafted by Stalin and Bukharin. This report considers it impossible to fight the Nationalists in China; "on the contrary, we must utilize these national forces united in the Kuomintang, with the exception of the extreme right, which is flirting with the militarists." At the same time it was reported that Borodin would be withdrawn from China. An interview published in *The New York Times* on May 7 showed that Borodin was still working actively on behalf of the Hankow Government.

Discussion continued with regard to the raid of the Soviet Embassy buildings at Peking on April 6. Minister MacMurray reported to the State Department the next day that the Chinese police went beyond the authorization given them by the diplomatic corps in raiding buildings in the former Russian Legation Compound. He stated



that considerable quantities of propaganda, various documents, a machine gun, thirty rifles and ammunition, and many Kuomintang and Soviet flags were found. The propaganda was said to have been violently anti-foreign in character and opposed to Chiang Kai-shek. The diplomatic corps protested on April 8 against the excess of power by the police. In a note of April 9 the Soviet Government said it was compelled to re-

ment, which presumably is less unfavorable to the existing treaties, and recognition of the Nationalist aspirations. Their attitude was obscured by the necessity which all of them are under to send forces to China for the immediate protection of their citizens in danger from civil war and mob violence. The presence of such troops does not necessarily mean political intervention, though, of course, it makes such intervention easier.



Wide World

American marines from warships and transports in Shanghai Harbor marching through the International Settlement in what was described by Government officials as an "exercise march only" and not an armed display to impress the Chinese

call its diplomatic staff from Peking, though it would confine itself to "elementary demands without putting the Peking Government in an embarrassing position," instead of "cruel reprisals," to which any imperialistic government would resort. On April 21 Peking replied that the documents discovered were still being investigated. "True," said the note, "diplomats enjoy special immunities, but that does not confer on them the right to carry out illegal practices." A high Chinese official was reported to have said that the raid was not unprecedented, because the Soviets had twice raided the Chinese Embassy at Moscow.

(4) Each of the Powers with interests in China seemed to be undecided between intervention in support of the Peking Govern-

Nor is there evidence of political intervention in the recent notes on the Nanking affair. The Powers who were allied during the war are bound by an agreement of May 5, 1919, to prevent shipments of munitions to any Chinese faction. It was alleged on April 21 that a German freighter left Hamburg on March 31 with arms for the North-erners. The German Government, which is not bound by the 1919 agreement, avowed ignorance on the subject.

Moscow undoubtedly believes that the Powers plan political intervention. On April 18, Rykov, the Soviet Premier, declared that "foreign intervention in China, if persisted in, will evolve into an imperialistic war, which, as it would be fought on the coast of the Pacific Ocean, would in all probability be a world war."





Underwood

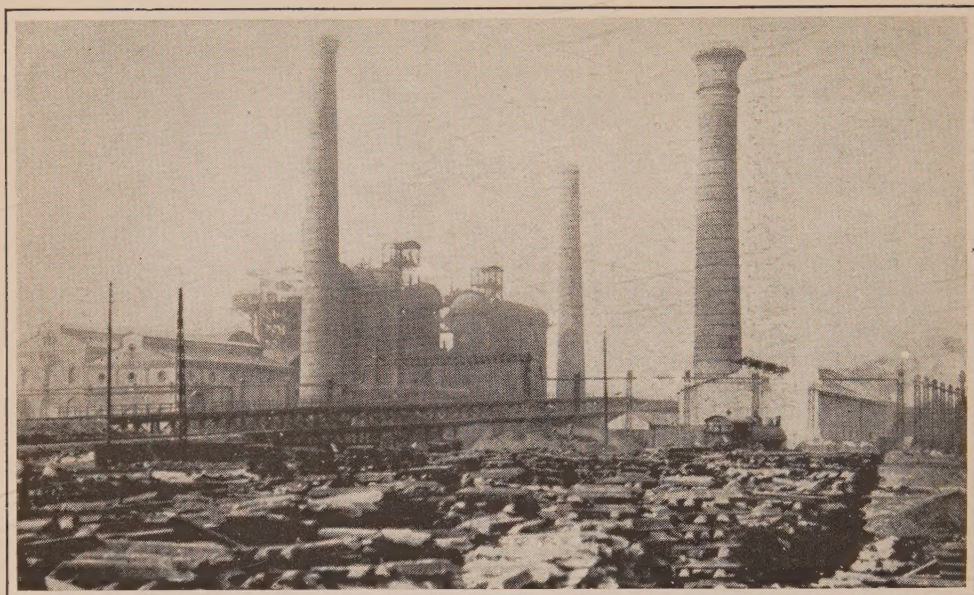
The first detachment of American marines to land under arms at Shanghai parading on the race course before the capture of the city by the Nationalists



Underwood

Chinese watching the drilling of foreign troops on the Shanghai race course





Wide World

The Hankow Iron Works, the only plant of its kind in China, now in the hands of the Nationalists, for whom it is producing munitions

Chang Tso-lin is said to be urging the British to intervene in his behalf by emphasizing the analogy of the situation to that of seventy years ago, when Gordon's "ever-victorious army" assisted the Manchus to suppress the Taiping rebellion and to retain the unequal treaties to the benefit of Britain. The British note of Dec. 25 and subsequent statements, on the other hand, have gone a long way toward recognizing the Nationalist claims. So far there has been no act which can be definitely interpreted as political intervention. Diplomatic demands have related solely to the protection of British subjects.

#### UNITED STATES POLICY

The United States has carefully limited all demands and military actions to the protection of citizens and has indicated willingness to negotiate for the elimination of foreign privileges. On April 21, twenty-eight missionaries and educators, recently in China, including John Dewey and Paul Monroe of Columbia, Edward A. Hume, recently President of Yale-in-China, and Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick addressed an open letter to President Coolidge expressing the conviction that "the American people do not want to be drawn into the use of force against the Chinese as they struggle to achieve independence and self-govern-

ment," and indicating the danger that the present participation in joint military and diplomatic action might lead to that result. Consequently, the letter favored the use of American forces independently and only "to bring American lives out of danger." It also favored "the return to the traditional American policy of genuinely independent diplomatic communications with China" and acceptance of the Nationalist offer of a joint commission to establish responsibility in the Nanking incident.

In pursuance of this policy it was announced on April 25 that Secretary Kellogg had indefinitely postponed sending a reply to Eugene Chen's note of April 15 on the Nanking affair, thus rejecting Minister MacMurray's suggestion. Reports from the various capitals had anticipated a sharp joint reply of the Powers which might have led to intervention. The identic notes sent by the Powers to Eugene Chen on April 11 demanded punishment of the commanders of the guilty troops, apology and complete reparation of property losses. Chen's reply to the United States on April 15 agreed to make good all damages to the consulate and other damages not caused by Anglo-American bombardment, proposed an international commission of inquiry to determine responsibility for the losses and also the circumstances of the bombardment of the un-



fortified city of Nanking, postponing the question of apology until the results of such inquiry were known. The note concluded with a reiteration of the thesis that the real cause of trouble is the unequal treaties upon which the Nationalists are willing to negotiate. The texts of these notes are printed at the end of this article.

Similar replies were sent to the other Powers. Those to France and Japan, who did not participate in the bombardment, were more conciliatory in tone. The British retained freedom of action with regard to the incident and a strong reply was expected. They satisfactorily completed negotiations with the Peking Government on April 22 for rendition of their concession at Tien-Tsin. A council of five British, five Chinese, and a Chinese Chairman, will henceforth control the settlement.

Japan was said to have been impressed by Chiang Kai-shek's move against the Reds in his party, and on April 14 it was said she expected the Kuomintang to be reunited. Baron Tanaka, who became Premier on April 18, declared on April 22 that he was prepared to cooperate with the Powers against Communism in China under certain conditions, but he hoped this would not be misunderstood by "our friendly neighbor, Russia." He expressed "profound sympathy for the legitimate aspirations of the Chinese

people" and a determination to assist them, but at the same time he thought "such aspirations could be attained in due order and by appropriate means." Friction between China and the Powers he thought could be avoided. It was reported that Japan had been moving troops into Manchuria and was prepared to resist any Russian encroachment.

#### ATTITUDE OF MISSIONARIES

(5) The divergencies in policy among the Powers were reflected in the foreign community in China itself. The missionaries, as a rule, sympathize with the moderate Nationalists. They consider their desire to organize China for the Chinese and to do away with unequal treaties reasonable, and many of them believe that Christian work will have to be transferred to Chinese administration, a position apparently recognized by the Catholic Church in its recent creation of six native Chinese Bishops. A few missionaries, however, like Dr. Allen C. Huthcheson of Nanking on April 4, oppose these views and believe the troubles of China are in part due to the encouragement given by some missionaries to radical Nationalism and recommend the use of force to protect missionary interests. A large part of the foreign merchants in China believe the relinquishment of Western privi-



Chinese soldiers guarding part of the British concession at Hankow after it was looted by rioters





P. &amp; A. Photos

## CHANG TSO-LIN

The Chinese Field Marshal who is generally referred to as the Manchurian War Lord and who is now virtual master of Northern China and of the Peking Government

leges should proceed slowly and that the Powers are justified in using force to preserve the *status quo*. Similar differences in attitude are reflected among the foreign newspaper correspondents. Reports from China have been so colored by the attitude of the reporter that impartial estimates of the situation are difficult. On April 3 the Chinese Consul General in New York declared that Great Britain was responsible for the "utterly biased" character of the Chinese news in America. The Nationalist news agency in New York under Ernest Moy has put forth material of a strongly anti-British character, particularly an "appeal to the American people," given out on April 18, which asserted that Americans hear only of "selected incidents in China that can be made to twist the truth in such a way that Nationalist China, an awakening country, struggling heroically to break away from the fatal fetters of feudal military and economic imperialist oppression,

appears as an aggressor against the West." It prophesied the Nationalist occupation of Peking in three months and said this would have happened long since had it not been for the "violent and piratical policy" of Great Britain.

The British press, on the other hand, accuses American papers of indulging in anti-British propaganda. The London *Daily Express*, for instance, wrote on April 20 that many American newspapers seem to "see nothing in such humanitarian cooperation (as at Nanking) but diplomatic intrigue on one hand, and susceptibility to propaganda on the other." The paper concluded in the words of Admiral Hough, Senior American Naval Officer at Nanking, to the Commander-in-Chief: "I do not believe the details of the situation are completely understood."

The situation was well summarized in Duranty's report from Peking on April 20: "One cannot believe most of what is read here or half of what is heard. The distinctions between groups and individuals are less clear cut than appears abroad. \* \* \* The foreign Powers are little agreed, partly on account of the home Governments pursuing different policies and partly be-



Harris &amp; Ewing

## WELLINGTON KOO

The acting Premier and Foreign Minister of the Peking Government



cause their representatives here, even the most experienced, are frankly bewildered. \* \* \* There is no hostility toward strangers north of the Yellow River at least. \* \* \* The Chinese have not forgotten the bloody lesson of Boxer days. \* \* \* They are the most industrious and most docile people in the world. \* \* \* Nationalist sentiment, here at least, is widespread, deep-seated and genuine."

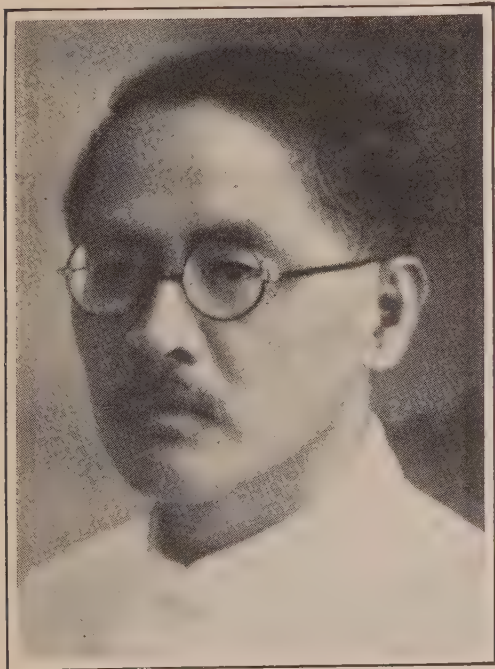
The relation between the factions of the Nationalist Party is obscure at the present writing. On April 23 two agencies, each claiming to represent the Kuomintang, published opposing opinions about Chiang Kai-shek in Paris. On April 29 Chiang was said to have declared formal war upon the radicals of the party and to have dispatched General Yang Sung with an army of 80,000 against Hankow. As a first step toward purging the party of Communists and righting it with the Powers, he was said to have routed General Shen Chen, who commanded the Nationalist troops at Nanking during the anti-foreign outrages of March 24, and his army of 5,000, as a "punishment." On the next day, however, the Hankow Government itself was said to have turned against the Communists. A vote of 48 to 22 in the



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## CHIANG KAI-SHEK

Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese Nationalist Army; formerly Secretary and aide-de-camp to Sun Yat-sen



EUGENE CHEN (CHEN YU-JEN)  
Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Chinese  
Nationalist Government at Hankow

Central Committee favored Chiang Kai-shek. New regulations for protecting foreigners and prohibiting agitation were announced. The party was said to have formulated a plan for organizing the Chinese throughout the world to end Tong wars and to place China in a better light abroad.

Communist agitation in Canton was suppressed on April 23 by General Li Chan-sum, who remains loyal to Chiang Kai-shek, and on April 27 four Hankow armies were said to be moving toward that city. There were also reports that Chiang Kai-shek was showing some of the characteristics of a typical Chinese war lord and was negotiating with Sun Chuan-fang and showing willingness to negotiate with Chang Tso-lin himself. The latter was moving troops toward Hankow and was said to have secured his army from attack by Feng Yu-hsiang by negotiation. In the past Feng has twice been allied to Chang.

The Communists of Shanghai called a gen-





Wide World

American naval commanders in the Far East: (From left to right) Captain G. W. Steele, commanding the U. S. S. Pittsburgh, flagship of the Asiatic Fleet; Admiral C. S. Williams, and Captain W. N. Vernon, Chief of Staff

eral strike on April 12. Chiang Kai-shek took vigorous measures to prevent agitation. On April 22 martial law was proclaimed in the native city and six radicals were executed. At Hankow an anti-foreign boycott began on April 28 and the British and American Consuls advised their nationals to leave the city, but few did so; 223 Germans, 184 Indians, 114 British, 114 Frenchmen, 68 Americans, 46 Italians, 10 Russians and 10 Danes were said to be there still. Eugene Chen, the Hankow Foreign Minister, promised to prevent violence. Forty-five foreign warships were in the port. Japan still had her concession in Hankow and showed no intention of giving it up. It was repeatedly asserted that Great Britain intended to re-occupy her Hankow concession.

Eugene Chen, on April 23, received United States Consul General Lockhart and a deputation of business men and informed them that his Government wished to continue trade with foreign nations, referring to Sun Yat-sen's book on the necessity of foreign trade for China. He outlined the measures being taken to assure security for trade. According to the reporter, the merchants were not greatly impressed. *The London Observer* of April 23 credited Chen with success in his policy of "creating international disharmony" by the "isolation of America from the Concert of Powers." It accused certain American papers of "a baseless and almost unintelligible suspicion of British policy" in China. The United

States definitely postponed further discussion of the Nanking incident and the others seemed also to have done so for the moment. Italy was said to support Great Britain in strong demands backed by a threat to blockade the Yangtse, while France supported Japan in a more moderate policy. On April 24 fifty American marines landed at Hankow to protect three Standard Oil employes who were being taken to the General Labor Union headquarters for examination.

The Powers continued to send more forces to China. An American regiment sailed from San Diego on April 17 and on April 25 two American submarines arrived at Hongkong. More French troops were sent from Indo-China on April 8 and on the same date a British infantry brigade left for China. The British also sent 1,000 troops and an air squadron from Southampton on April 20.

There were many reports of foreign ships in the Yangtse being sniped at from the shore, and a statement published on April 23 listed forty-five such incidents since Aug. 26, 1926, involving American war and merchant vessels alone. Six men were injured in thirteen such incidents which occurred in April. Occasionally the fire was returned by foreign warships. On April 29 the Nationalist News Agency in New York reported that an unarmed German freighter reached Hankow without incident and commented that vessels of those Powers which did not use threats



and coercion were safe in the Yangtse. On April 22 statements of the Navy and State Departments declared that American forces were in China solely for the protection of American life and property. On April 28 it was reported from Belgrade that General Wrangel was collecting a force of 20,000 Russian exiles in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Rumania for service in China under British protection.

Missionaries continued to leave the interior of China. Three hundred British missionaries from Northern China arrived at Tientsin on April 18, but confessed themselves mystified at the evacuation order, as their work had been progressing peacefully. A number of missions and missionary schools are still operating in Shanghai and Nanking, in some cases under native clergymen and teachers. Twenty-nine missionaries refused to leave Szechuan Province, declaring that naval demonstrations are "aggravating and unjustifiable" and that the unequal treaties should be revised. The West China Union University at Chengtu, Szechuan Province, is the second mission school to conform to the Nationalist regulations; Canton Christian College was the first. Dr. Horace G. Robson of Nanking University expressed the opinion, in the press, that the killing of Dr. Williams, Vice President of the institution, on March 24 was not intentional and that the soldiers merely wished to terrorize. Though himself robbed, Dr. Robson insisted that "the National army as a whole did not approve of the looting and the maltreatment of foreigners, which was due to the extreme radical wing." On April 18 the Canadian Department of External Affairs asked the British Foreign Office to inquire into the murder of the Rev. Morris Slichter of Toronto and his 8-year-old daughter in Yunan Province by bandits.

Chang Tso-lin sent one of his Generals to Harbin on April 29 to strengthen the Manchurian defenses against a Bolshevik attack. He was said to contemplate closing Soviet consulates in Manchuria and seizing the Chinese Eastern Railway, operated jointly with the Russians. Twenty-four Chinese Communists taken in the Soviet Embassy raid, including Li Tai-chow, head of the Peking Communists, and a young woman, were executed, on April 28, by strangulation, after a secret trial. At the same time Chang Tso-lin informed Senator Bingham of Connecticut that he was de-

termined to stamp out anti-foreign Bolshevik propaganda. Charles James Fox, an American attorney and editor of *The North China Star*, has been employed by Russia to defend the fifteen Russians taken at the embassy raid and Mme. Borodin, taken earlier, but on May 1 Fox expressed doubt whether Chinese authorities would give them a hearing. It was reported on May 4 that the prisoners were being held incommunicado pending trial. Documents taken in the raid were said to indicate that the Soviet Government had paid more than \$10,000,000 in support of Nationalist activities during the past year. There was also a list of arms and munitions, together with a record of the Soviet officers in the Nationalist forces, and one document showed the payment of \$500,000 to the Christian General Feng Yu-hsiang. Moscow has declared these documents forgeries.

On April 30 *The Chinese Weekly Review* of Shanghai contained an editorial which urged scrapping of unequal treaties and immediate negotiation of equal treaties. It was also alleged that this paper alone opposed the sending of foreign troops to China. As a result the American Chamber of Commerce asked the editor to resign from the Chamber, but the editor, J. P. Powell of Hannibal, Mo., declared that he had no intention of doing so. On April 28 Secretary Kellogg said that the State Department was giving the public all the news it had about China; this was in answer to reports that accounts of outrages against Americans have been suppressed.

In an address to the American Society of International Law, on April 28, former Secretary of State Hughes suggested that modification of the unequal treaties was "good business." "The very fact," he said, "that we realize the sanctity of the obligations entered into, obligates the States to alter inequitable treaties." President William Green of the American Federation of Labor, President Butler of Columbia University and Senator Borah also made public statements opposing coercion of China and urging modification of unequal treaties. On April 4 the Bureau of the Socialist and Labor International issued a manifesto expressing "absolute unity in sympathy and solidarity with the national movement for liberty in China" and urged May Day demonstrations "for the immediate recall of the foreign troops and warships" in China.

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## II.—The Growth of Nationalism

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CHINA, at the present moment, is having at one and the same time both an industrial and a political revolution. To complicate the situation, her political and industrial revolution is concerned not only with her own country and people; she is also compelled to cope with foreign interests, foreign capitalists, foreign protests and foreign gunboats. Not only must she overthrow her own antiquated political and economic order, she must also eliminate an alien domination and her efforts to accomplish this are meeting with even stronger and sterner obstruction.

However much one may desire to dissociate the causes and effects of the Chinese Civil War from those of the Nationalist movement against foreign hegemony, or attribute the rise of labor in China against foreign exploitation and imperialism solely to malicious Soviet propaganda, one cannot be blind to the fact that these forces are all interwoven, inseparable and essentially indigenous. They are results of history which can be traced as far back as 1839, when Commissioner Ling dumped overboard more than 20,000 chests of British opium.

Actual symptoms of the present great uprising were first the political revolution of China against Manchu rule and alien encroachment, which began in the last days of the nineteenth century; and secondly, the awakening of organized labor, trailing behind the student movement and first heard in very recent years.

For fourteen years, from 1911 to 1925, China as a republic remained, internationally, the same dominated country she had been under the rule of the Manchus. Her exultation over the success of the revolution of 1911 was short-lived. It did not take long for the people to realize that what had happened was more in name than in reality.

After the Revolution, except for the lull during the Presidency of Yuan Shih-kai, unrest continued, going from bad to worse. After Yuan's death, China, with the rise of the Tsuchunato (military provincial rulers), witnessed the development of constant factional warfare among the military Governors of different provinces. The Cen-

tral Government at Peking dwindled in power until later it became the tool and mouthpiece of whichever war lord gained control of the capital.

Meanwhile, however, the political and economic domination of China by the foreign Powers was left unchallenged. It was true that such domination was repeatedly questioned, but it was questioned in a peaceful manner and in a subdued tone. China's conduct at the Washington Conference of 1921-1922 was no different from what it had always been. She politely presented her case and arguments. She implored; she pleaded. She gathered up what little she had been given in the form of assurances and some retrocessions by the Powers and returned home, apparently satisfied, but nursing dissatisfaction in her heart.

She not only questioned foreign domination; she resisted further foreign aggression with all the peaceful yet forcible means at her command. She boycotted Japan because of the Twenty-one Demands; she refused to sign the Versailles Treaty because of the Shantung award. Nevertheless, the international *status quo* in China was never openly challenged.

Now, before the world can scarcely realize what has happened, China with about half of her 400,000,000 people actively participating, is seething with nationalism; a nationalism that is boldly challenging the international *status quo* in China; a nationalism that has determined to end foreign domination by all means and at any cost; a nationalism that has within ten months swept across the length and breadth of the whole country and brought the territory south of the Yangtse River into the control of the Nationalist Government.

On the one side we have the Powers, in the face of all that comes in the wake of the "modern tide," attempting to maintain the structure of the unequal régime; and, on the other, we find China, drifting along on an ever rising tide of national and racial consciousness, helped by the Renaissance and Mass Education Movement, urged on by student and worker, encouraged by the disintegration of the Western front resulting from the World War and provoked by the



Powers' studied procrastination, determined to tear down that structure.

Procrastination, of all things, has brought forth what has been happening lately in China—unrest, radicalism, revolution. Procrastination on the part of the Manchus cost them the throne. The Manchus nipped the reformation movement in the bud before the Boxer uprising; they resurrected it afterward, but their enthusiasm was less than lukewarm. The people waited patiently until their patience was exhausted, then they rose and made Wuchang the cradle of the Chinese Revolution. Procrastination on the part of the foreign Powers, similarly, aroused the Chinese from their lethargy into activity. There would have been no radical anti-foreign agitation if the Powers, in the last days of the Manchus or the first days of the Revolution, had agreed to the gradual relinquishment of extraterritoriality, to the reasonable increase of the conventional tariff and to ultimate autonomy, to cooperative control of the concessions and settlements and to the eventual return of the leased territories. But instead, the Powers bickered and delayed. As early as 1902, China was assured of the restoration of her judicial sovereignty. But more than twenty years later, the International Commission on

Extraterritoriality in China, instituted in pursuance of the Washington Resolution of 1922, made a report the tenor of which was similar to that of the Mackay Treaty. Article XII of this treaty reads as follows:

China having expressed a strong desire to reform her judicial system and to bring it into accord with that of Western nations, Great Britain agrees to give every assistance to such reform and she will also be prepared to relinquish her extraterritorial rights when she is satisfied that the state of the Chinese laws, the arrangement for their administration and other conditions warrant her in so doing.

Provisions identical to the above appeared in the treaties between China and the United States, Japan (1903) and Sweden (1908). The Washington Conference report, made public last November, after having enumerated a long list of indictments against China's judiciary, under the title of "Administration of Justice in China," made recommendations; and when these recommendations "shall have been reasonably complied with, the several Powers would be warranted in relinquishing their respective rights of extraterritoriality." The recommendations consisted of the separation of powers between the executive and judicial branches of the Chinese Gov-



The late Dr. Sun Yat-sen leaving Shanghai for Canton, where the Nationalist Government established its capital





Wide World

## MRS. SUN YAT-SEN

Widow of the founder of the Chinese Nationalist Party; she received her college education at Macon, Georgia

ernment, the improvement of criminal law and prison systems, the completion of the civil and commercial codes, and so forth, and also effective enforcement of all laws.

The attitude of the Chinese in general toward the report is shown by an editorial in the Chinese Students' Monthly of January, 1927, which said in part:

The whole report is a travesty of reason and impartiality. It is written without taking into consideration the question as to whose country China is. Whose country is China, anyway? Part III is in fact a list of indictments. Probably they are true. But, suppose we should appoint an international commission to sit in the Honorable Strawn's native city or State for nine months and draw up a report?

The same tactics of procrastination have been employed with respect to other questions which the Chinese people consider as vital to their existence. The rendition of the Mixed Court was not effected until after the Shanghai affair. More than once, China's attempt to secure an upward revision of the Paris schedules has been

frustrated by inaction of the Powers who benefit by the old régime. France's delay in ratifying the Washington Treaty did not soothe Chinese feeling. Although China's civil strife was not entirely blameless, the failure of the Peking Customs Conference could be attributed, to a certain extent, to the unwillingness of certain Powers to relinquish their control over China's tariff. To the Chinese, the delay is irritating and taken as a sign of insincerity. The Chinese Minister at Washington, on Feb. 15, said:

The Chinese people are further convinced that it is entirely a futile attempt to procure for themselves the new and just order of relationship by patiently acquiescing in the old order of diplomacy—that is, the Powers' insistence on the necessity of their unanimous consent before any change in the treaties can be put into effect. To secure the unanimous consent of a dozen and more sovereign and independent nations at the same time is an extremely difficult if not entirely impossible task; some of the Powers at some time are bound to feel that the best course for their own interest is the course of procrastination.

In 1925 the Shanghai affair flared up, but within three months the incident settled down to a position more hopeful and encouraging than the world had dared to expect. The storm subsided through the clever manoeuvre of the Powers, under the leadership of the American Government, in bringing to the front the question of the Customs Conference and the Extraterritoriality Commission. The Chinese people were then hoping that the Powers would, at last, courageously and speedily tear down the structure of the unequal régime. The Chinese fury was side-tracked; but, as I said at that time (*Foreign Affairs*, October, 1925):

Side-tracks lead nowhere; side-tracking Chinese fury may seem good tactics momentarily, but it is not a permanent way of appeasing the ever-growing spirit of Chinese nationalism. We have studied the Shanghai affair and have learned that beneath the industrial unrest and the student agitation lies a deeper cause—the Nationalistic movement. Such a movement cannot be satisfied with merely a 2½ per cent. customs increase nor with the constitution of a powerless Extraterritoriality Commission. It desires more, and more it will get. Nationalism, as I have said, means for China the general revision of all unequal treaties, which exist by virtue of neither the code of Western ethics, which reveres justice and fair play, nor the principle of reciprocity recognized by international law. For the twenty-five years that have just passed the United States has led the world in pursuing a policy of disinterestedness in China and helpfulness toward her; for the twenty-five years that are yet to come it is to be hoped that she will not only continue her traditional policy but also actively assist China in bringing about the realization of her legitimate



national aspirations. This is the one and only means that will forestall consequences that are too grave and would be too regrettable for prediction or even imagination.

Subsequent events have substantiated the above prediction, for the failure of the Customs Conference and the Extraterritoriality Commission, to the Chinese people, has made it more evident than ever that, in the first place, the Powers are unwilling to satisfy Chinese national aspirations if at all possible; and, secondly, that Peking, the old capital, is powerless to bring about the new order. Consequently, the world has been brought face to face with events that have taken a new turn since the rise of the Nationalist Government.

#### SELF-RESPECT AND MOB VIOLENCE

To those who govern in China, the unequal position their country occupies in its international relationship is clear. But one may well wonder how the general masses have come to realize the indignities their country has been submitted to.

First of all, from five treaty ports, the cordon has grown to about fifty. And at every one of these fifty ports—especially the larger cities like Shanghai, Hankow, Kiukiang, Canton, Tientsin and some others

—one may find those so-called “old China hands,” foreigners who have lived for a certain length of time in China and who regard the Chinese as a people to be exploited and never associated with. The impression they have is that of a docile, poverty-stricken, backward, powerless China. They would kick a coolie as they would kick a dog; they would bully a Chinaman merely for diversion. They overstep every line of propriety. They despise the country where they are making a comfortable and luxurious living; and, what is worse, they make no effort to conceal their sentiments. The Shanghai Municipal Council overawes the coolies with the tall, red-turbaned Sikhs from India. It forbids its municipal parks to dogs, Chinese and bicycles. These acts need no translation; they can be understood alike by peasants and coolies, who pocket their pride because there is no alternative.

After living in such an atmosphere for years, they could not help having a feeling of resentment and rebellion. When they were held subject, they appeared complacent and placid; when occasion offered itself, they rose with a vengeance. Mobs overran the Hankow British Concession. Anti-foreign riots endangered foreign lives and property in the interior and even treaty



Wide World

Parade of Chinese Boy Scouts at Shanghai to celebrate the anniversary of the establishment of the Chinese Republic



ports. Within a period of a few months the feeling rose so high that it was found advisable for all foreigners to evacuate the upper Yangtse and other cities where foreign gunboats could not reach. Refugees streamed into the now almost fortified foreign stronghold—Shanghai.

In addressing the American Chamber of Commerce at Shanghai, Judge John Barton Payne, Chairman of the American Red Cross, declared that: "Much of the foreigners' trouble in China has been due to the arrogance, bumptiousness and foolishness of some foreign residents, who ought to return home if they do not like residence in China." The Chinese masses south of the Yangtse are now saturated with ideas, either of a radical or a moderate tinge, against foreign aggression, Christianity and imperialism. The long suppressed sense of humiliation has at last found its outlet.

Aside from the cause furnished by the



New buildings on the Bund, Canton

insolence of some of the foreigners, we may attribute the present awakening of the masses of China to the Chinese Renaissance, closely connected with the student movement and the Mass Education movement, all of which are treated elsewhere in these pages.

During the last twenty years young and educated men have gone abroad and they have come home with a racial and national consciousness never so keenly felt before. Before their departure and in common with thousands of other young men who have gone through the Chinese middle schools or colleges, they have already learned of China's military reverses, of indemnities, concessions and other humiliating incidents. On the eve of their departure they find that at Shanghai, in their own country, they are barred from the municipal parks, scowled at by the Sikhs and pushed off the sidewalk by drunken marines. When they reach the foreign countries, they discover that immigration laws discriminate against them. And during the four years or more of their sojourn abroad, they have been constantly reminded of their nationality, their race, their "inferiority." At the same time they study democratic political theories, the American and French revolutions, "taxation without representation," freedom, self-determination, sovereignty, independence and equality.

These men have reached one conclusion: they may be discriminated against in countries where they are foreigners, but they ought to have at least an equal, if not superior, status with the aliens in their home country. And in order to preserve their personal as well as national self-respect, they feel that they must put their country on the basis of international equality. This is the spark that set off the explosion. And so we now see Young China, Nationalistic rather than Bolshevistic, anti-foreign, or anti-Christian, sweeping across the country, determined to establish a Government that will achieve internal democracy and prosperity as well as international equality.

#### LABOR AND BOLSHEVISM

In the present Chinese Revolution labor has played a very important part against both the Peking Government and the "imperialistic" Powers. By general strikes it demoralizes the Northern forces behind their lines. It furnishes the fuel and men for anti-foreign agitation. It receives sympathy and moral support not only from





The Canton city front seen from Honam Point, on the Pearl River

its natural ally, Russia, but from labor everywhere.

Labor in China, too self-conscious of its new-found power, is inclined to misuse it, and this results in radicalism. Nevertheless, the sentiment of the Chinese people and the majority of the Nationalists is opposed to radicalism in any form. When Dr. Sun Yat-sen opened the Kuomintang ranks to the Communists, they were made to promise that, while remaining Communists, they would always be bound by the discipline of the Kuomintang party. The open rift now visible between the right and left wings is caused by the fear of the moderates that untrammelled mass action indiscriminately urged on by communist agitators will alienate the sympathy and support heretofore given to the Nationalists by the Chinese bankers and business men, and also involve the Nationalist Government in international controversies with which it is not in a position to cope.

Labor of the Bolshevik type can never establish itself in China, for it is unsuited, unwelcome and unwanted; but labor of merely socialistic tinge will undoubtedly have a permanent footing, for Socialism is one of the three principles of the Nationalist movement. Thus Eugene Chen, the Nationalist Foreign Minister, early in February communicated direct with the British Labor Party in England. Ramsay MacDonald, the former Labor Premier of

England, has let no occasion pass to make clear the favorable attitude of his party to the Nationalist movement. Though some people may believe that the reason for the Labor Party's opposition to the British Government is merely based on the principle that "the duty of an Opposition is to oppose," it must be conceded that there are people whose belief and conscience forbid countenancing the crushing of a movement of liberation of any people, nationalists or workers.

From the beginning of the present crisis in China—the Shanghai affair of May 30, 1925—labor has crossed the national as well as the racial barrier, demonstrating its world solidarity. After this unfortunate incident, the words of Mr. Brockway, General Secretary of the Independent Labor Party in England; the protest of A. B. Swales, Chairman of the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress; the message of the International Labor Conference at Geneva, and the letter addressed to President Coolidge by Mr. William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, all showed clearly that labor has a solidarity and unity whose future possibilities cannot be overestimated.

In the Leicester Resolution of the Independent Labor Party Conference on April 18, 1927, we hear the resounding echo of its previous action. The resolution binds the party "individually and collectively to



refuse all war service, including manufacture and transport of munitions, should an outbreak of war occur." The conference that passed the resolution, representing nearly 1,000 branches, demanded among other things closer cooperation between the British and Chinese labor movements. In America the voice of organized labor for an unwavering policy of "hands off China" has been repeatedly raised and heard. Mr. Green, in the *Federationist* [reported in

labor legislation. Where European flags fly and European guns are responsible for keeping order, we ought to insist that capital shall observe European standards of humanity.

The Nationalists, by including in their program the amelioration of the conditions of labor, have not only secured the support of those who are actually slaving and toiling for the barest living in China, but also the sympathy and the moral support of



The Bund, Shanghai

Underwood

*New York Times* on April 25, 1927], made a strong and unequivocal public statement, recognizing the justice of China's aspirations. Through ruthless exploitation there has developed, during the last hundred years or more, an inherent antagonism between capital and labor. When checked and legislated against in the West, capital migrated and found fertile soil in the East. The squalid conditions of mills and factories, foreign or Chinese owned, had remained practically unknown to the world before the strike in the Japanese cotton mill early in 1925. When it became known that Chinese children and women had been enslaved to furnish the comforts and luxuries of the capitalists, native or foreign, there were both reason and justification for the sympathetic responses coming from every corner of the world. The British Independent Labor Party made this declaration:

One step is both urgent and easy—the enforcement in the Treaty Ports of modern

their brethren who have but recently freed themselves from economic bondage.

#### RUSSIAN INFLUENCE EXAGGERATED

Labor has contributed much to the victory of the Southerners in the civil war; it has also contributed much to the success of Nationalism against foreign aggression. It must, however, abide within its bounds. The recent rupture between the moderates and the radicals of the Kuomintang may bring the downfall of radicalism and the end of all troubles, yet it may also result in divisions that will again bring China back to the chaotic condition from which she has lately shown signs of emerging.

Foreigners, however, are not justified in attributing all their woes, real or imagined, in China to the Soviets and to the Soviet adviser, Borodin. No one will deny that assistance in some form or manner has been received by the Nationalist Government from Russia or from Russians; such assistance, however, is neither altruistically given





Wide World

Suchow Creek, Shanghai, with the consulates of the foreign nations in the background

nor indiscriminately taken. Russia, politically adverse to capitalism and capitalist governments, and especially hostile to Great Britain, is fighting her enemies on the Chinese battleground. China, when in dire need of a friend, is not prone to choose, particularly when no choice is given; she, however, knows well that behind the helping hand blazes the "red" torch. More than any other country, Russia realizes that China understands the game; in addition, she realizes the futility of bolshevizing China. To quote the words of a *New York Times* editorial (April 24, 1927):

Stalin and Bukharin insist that China is not ripe for a really Red revolution. Such an adventure in China would collapse, because a proletarian experiment in that country lacks adequate preparation, organization and finance. A Red China would never obtain the capital needed for building up a modern industrial State such as a genuine proletarian country requires.

Furthermore, no one can assert that Nationalist China is not to a certain extent befriending her Eurasian neighbor for many ends that are entirely her own. This accounts for British optimism, resulting from the open break inside the ranks of the



Herbert Photos

A view of the Shanghai waterfront



Kuomintang. Nor should it be forgotten that when trying to carry out his revolutionary program against the remains of the Manchu oligarchy, Dr. Sun Yat-sen first appealed to Great Britain and America for assistance; failing in this direction, he then went to Russia.

Very lately Lloyd George reiterated his view on the China situation in the following manner: "It is not a communistic movement in China; it is simply that the Chinese are struggling for the elementary, fundamental rights of every free and self-respecting nation." In this struggle many Chinese, perhaps influenced by Soviet propaganda, believe that force is the only means. These are the radicals; these form the left wing of the Kuomintang; these were once the "Communists" admitted by Dr. Sun; these "Communists," however, are not so much strict followers of the theories of Carl Marx and Lenin as men who dare to act and die. Their radicalism is supported by their conviction of the justice of their cause.

To substantiate the statement that the Chinese crisis has already brought a Russo-British rupture near, it is necessary only to recall a few incidents. While Shanghai was in the grip of the general strike of 1925, diplomatic relations between Moscow and London almost reached the breaking point. Very recently the buildings attached to the Russian Embassy in Peking were raided by the troops of Chang Tso-lin, with the per-

mission of the diplomatic corps. The Shanghai Russian Consulate was guarded by the "Allied" troops. A solemn warning from Great Britain couched in the severest terms was sent to Russia after the Nationalists had occupied the Yangtse Valley. England is determined to crush the agitator who, in her eyes, is endangering the very foundation of the Empire, by every means in her power.

Whatever may be said of the extent and effect of Russian influence in China, one fact must be recognized—there is a growing feeling of friendliness and sympathy between certain groups of people of these two nations. This feeling has nothing to do with political and economic theories of government or Russian ammunition and rubles: it is a common feeling engendered by mutual respect. Mr. Brailsford, writing from Moscow in March of this year, said:

The youth of Russia has at this moment only one dream—to go to China to fight for Kuomintang, or in some other way to help this popular cause which has fired its romantic imagination. \* \* \* They [the Chinese] have found a welcome here. If Russia is proud of anything at the moment it is of the confidence which the Chinese repose in her.

In this atmosphere many young Chinese students are now living and studying in Moscow. When they return to their homeland they cannot fail to carry back with them that common human emotion of sympathy, friendliness and mutual respect.

The World War, which made Germany



Herbert Photos

The new General Hospital in the International Settlement in Shanghai





Publishers' Photo Service

A street in the old Chinese section of Shanghai

and Austro-Hungary relinquish their superior position in China; the ostracism of Russia from the European family of nations and the success of Turkey in her nationalistic uprising—all contributed to encourage Chinese nationalism.

#### DIFFERENCES BETWEEN POWERS

A time there was when it was taken for granted that the treaty Powers were the orchestra, China the audience: it was the latter which paid the price for whatever music the former chose to play. They first agreed among themselves as to what they desired: then they descended upon China collectively to carry out their agreement. There was a system; there was a solidarity. And, in all the unequal treaties, we find the "most-favored-nation" clause, which means that whatever China is constrained to give away, she must give a similar and equivalent share to all.

Before the World War, there were some eighteen countries which formed the group commonly called the "Powers." These

Powers, possessing in their favor the unequal treaties, maintained, at the expense of China, a united front. Though the United States made no open break, it was, in fact, the first country which undermined the morale of the "concert" by declaring the Open Door policy and expressing, whenever possible, its friendship toward China. The return of part of the Boxer indemnity in 1908 was one of the early landmarks.

The World War split the Powers into two camps; among other things, the vanquished lost in China the special position they had hitherto enjoyed. Russia, as a result of her revolution, was thrown out of the European fold. Turning east, she at once saw that it would be futile to befriend Japan, a disciple of Westernism, guarding jealously and sensitively her interests in Manchuria. It was not unnatural for Russia to approach Turkey, China, and perhaps later India. As a first proffer, she agreed to substitute for the unequal treaties of the past with China a new, equal and reciprocal one. More than any substantial





Wide World

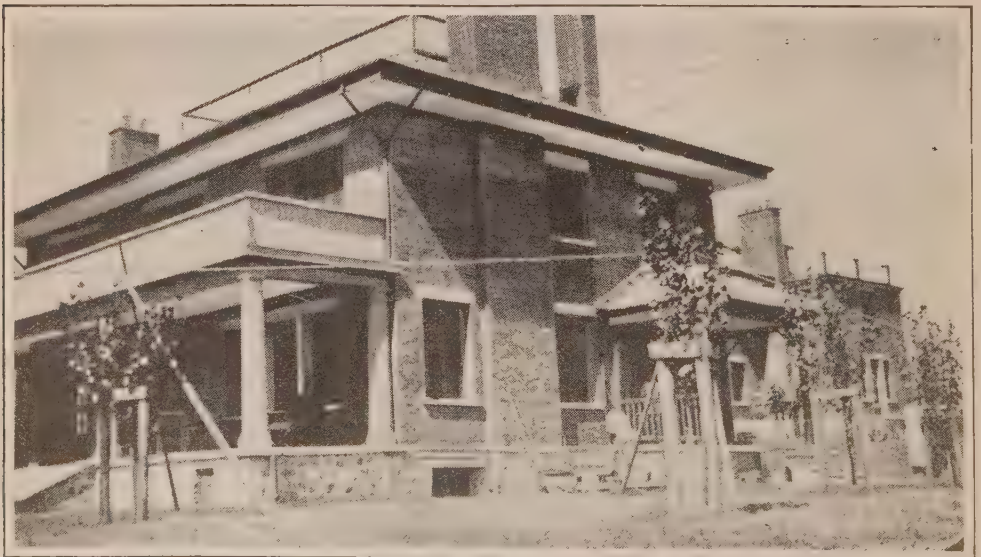
A photograph taken from the Standard Oil plant at Nanking, showing in the background Socony Hill, where the United States Consul and other Americans were attacked by Chinese Nationalists and rescued by British and American warships in the river

help, in the form of gold or men, this act won the heart of young China.

On the one hand, the giving up of special privileges by Germany, Austria, Hungary and Russia affords the Chinese a concrete foundation on which to base their belief that the enjoyment of the special position by the remaining treaty Powers of the old régime may be convenient and advantageous to them, but cannot henceforth be

defended as essential. On the other hand, the fear that had possessed China of a united front and united action was once and for all dispersed when the Central Powers and Soviet Russia were driven out of the ranks.

Soon after this event there appeared on the scene the Nationalist Turkish Government. Turkey, whose population is not as large as that of a single Chinese province



Wide World

The Standard Oil building on top of Socony Hill, Nanking, in which Americans and other foreigners were besieged until rescued by a landing party of American marines and blue-jackets



and whose territory and potential wealth cannot be compared to those of China on the same scale! Yet, in return for her stubbornness and uncompromising attitude, the Powers consented to the cancellation of capitulations. If Turkey could realize her national aspirations, why not China?

The "Concert" that was is now an evasive shadow. Great Britain has employed all her art and power as a conductor; she, nevertheless, realizes that harmony lately has not been produced spontaneously but by inducement and bargaining. Japan, having tasted Chinese wrath

object of the Nationalist Movement is an equal footing among nations. China wants to be regarded as one of the many members of the Family of Nations, but not as one against many.

#### CHINA UNITED AGAINST THE ALIEN

Since the rise of the Nationalist Government itself, China's highest hope is in the predominance of the moderates among the Nationalists over the radicals. After the open rupture, indications are that the moderates, led by the Southern generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, are gaining control of the



Wide World

A view of Nanking from the Southern gate, showing the crowded residential section

and bitterness after the Twenty-one Demands, is more than reluctant to rekindle the dying antipathy in the present crisis. Italy's alignment with Great Britain comes under the category of influence or inducement. Having waited and watched, France throws in her lot with England to face together Nationalist China. The American Government, it is now clear, is not ready to go the full length of Great Britain's wishes. Moreover, behind the United States Government, we find the American public, on the whole, a sympathetic one.

The day of the "Concert" is over; it is useless for Great Britain and others to refuse to face the fact. It is over, not only because of its internal disintegration; it must be over because China refuses to treat with the Powers en bloc. She has learned through the last eighty years that in continuing the antiquated order of international relationship she has been playing always a losing game. The international

situation. The Chinese kaleidoscope of present China shifts too fast to allow the drawing of definite conclusions. There are, however, certain factors that have emerged from the maze of uncertainty. These we must reckon with whenever we look at China's revolt against the old order, national and international, from the perspective of history. Nationalism has come to stay, irrespective of the outcome of the revolution. While the Nationalist soldiers were taking over the Yangtse Valley, the Peking Government terminated unilaterally the Sino-Belgian Treaty of 1865 and announced its intention to put an end also to the other unequal treaties. After the Hankow British Concession fell into the hands of the Nationalist Government, Marshal Chang Tso-lin, the military leader of the North, declared that should Great Britain attempt to recover it by force, he would send his soldiers to assist in the defense. These are only two of the many evidences



of the unity of China, so far as her attitude toward the unequal régime is concerned.

All China, except the labor element, has hoped for and welcomed the ascendancy of the moderates. Although it is impossible, with China in such an upset condition, to predict whether they are equal to the task, it is safe to say that they will control rather than be controlled. The declaration of the Christian General Feng that he will support the Nanking Government, if true, and the financial backing from Chinese merchants, will go a long way toward strengthening the hand of the moderates.

The Powers are justified in their fundamental claim that it is their duty to protect the lives of their nationals. In the course of doing so, however, they have trampled under foot the rights and sentiments of China, arousing hatred and causing in some instances bloodshed. Many regrettable inci-

dents have occurred; to insure future peace, their repetition must be prevented. After all, the chief interest of the Powers in China is trade. But when the trader loses the good-will of the customer, he inevitably loses his trade. The Powers, having as a rule a practical mind, ought to take measures to stem the trend of ill-feeling.

Notwithstanding the declarations of the Governments of the Powers that they are ready to end the unequal régime in China, it is in fact still there, looming larger every day in the mind of whole China. The currents of the nation have been let loose against it; it will be absolutely futile to stop them, not to say turn them back. Not only must the realities of the situation be faced; the many problems that have arisen must be solved and solved at once, through a sane and constructive policy by the Powers toward China.

## Constitution of the Chinese Nationalist Party

THE salient features of the Constitution of the Kuomintang, the Chinese Nationalist Party, which originated the present revolt, are given below, in paraphrase, having been translated into English for CURRENT HISTORY by P. T. Lau, graduate of Pennsylvania and Harvard Universities, and are here printed for the first time in any English publication.

The Constitution of the Kuomintang was adopted by the First Congress of the National Representatives on Jan. 28, 1924, the expressed purpose of this Congress being "to hasten the realization of the Three Principles of the People (Government of the people, by the people and for the people) and to lay the foundation of the Five Branches of the Constitutional Powers (executive, judicial, legislative, civil service and impeachment)."

Any person of either sex may become a member of the party, "provided he subscribes to the party constitution, strives to carry out its resolutions, joins in any authorized branch of the party and pays the regular dues of twenty cents a month; he must, however, first be recommended by at least two members."

The "sub-precinct," consisting of at least

five members, is the nucleus of the party organization, with larger groupings of precincts, districts and provinces. At the head is the National Representatives Conference with its executive and control committees, and this form of organization is carried on down through all the different subordinate branches.

The President is Chairman of the National Representatives Conference and of its Executive Committee and has veto power on their resolutions. All members must follow the direction of the President.

"Party principles and discipline must be observed, especially in territories of military occupation. Freedom of discussion is allowed within the party conferences, but when resolutions are adopted every one is expected to fall in line. This party has a historical mission to fulfill. The freedom and peace of our land depend on our success, which in turn depends on the strict enforcement of party discipline." Any deviations from these principles are punished by suspension or expulsion.

A system of secret, public and semi-public non-party organizations is also provided, under the close supervision of the party organization.





### III.—Military Organization

By CHIH-CHEN WANG

FORMERLY LITERARY EDITOR. *The Peking Express*

WHILE in organization, leadership and equipment the Chinese army today cannot compare favorably with the armies of the United States and European Powers, it is vastly superior to the old Chinese army of a generation ago. When the allied expeditionary forces landed in Tientsin during the Boxer uprising in 1900, they met with no effective resistance from the Chinese troops sent against them. The battles were nothing but horrid farces in which the Chinese troops, armed with only the most primitive weapons, proved to be the unhappy butts of the strange, terrifying and effective guns and rifles of the invaders. The Chinese armed forces that engaged the Allied forces knew nothing about the nature of modern weapons of war and had no knowledge of how to combat the weapons used by the allied troops. The Chinese Army has undergone revolutionary changes since the Boxer days; if the Powers should now decide upon a policy of armed intervention in China (which is very unlikely), they must be prepared to send hundreds of thousands in order to make the campaign successful, even temporarily.

It was Li Hung Chang who first realized the necessity of modernizing the Chinese Army. His experience during the Taiping Rebellion taught him the effectiveness of troops organized along modern lines. He was impressed by the successes of the *Chang Sheng Chun* (Ever Victorious Army)—a crack troop organized and commanded by General Gordon—in the campaigns against the Taiping rebels. Later, through his personal contact with General Gordon and his knowledge of the foreign countries, Li Hung Chang became more convinced than ever that China must reorganize her army in order to cope with the encroaching foreign Powers. He founded a military school in Tientsin and equipped some of his troops with modern rifles.

The lethargic Manchu Court did not give Li Hung Chang much encouragement, and little headway was made with his ambitious and far-sighted plans. It was not until the ignominious defeat of China at the hands of Japan in the war of 1894-5 that those in authority at the Court saw the urgency of army reform. In 1895 training quarters were established at Hsiaoan near Tient-

sin, and Yuan Shih-kai was appointed to take charge of the formation of a new army. He employed a number of German instructors and created the nucleus of the modern Chinese army with some 8,000 men armed with weapons bought abroad. When Yuan Shih-kai was made Governor of Shantung, this army went with him. When the Boxer trouble broke out, he was opposed to it and did not send any of the forces under his control to the rescue of Peking. The story of the Boxer expedition might have been a somewhat, if not totally, different one if the troops trained by Yuan Shih-kai at Hsiaoan had been employed to stem the march of the Allied expedition to Peking.

The Boxer episode demonstrated again the uselessness of the old Chinese army and its obsolete methods of warfare. The program of army reform was resumed with increased enthusiasm under the direction of Yuan Shih-kai when he became the Viceroy of Chihli. The training quarters at Hsiaoan were enlarged and new quarters established at Paotingfu, the capital of Chihli. In two years four divisions of about 12,000 men each of the new army were formed. The year following a scheme was adopted providing for the creation of thirty-six divisions of the new troops by 1911. At about the same time some of the divisions already created and controlled by Yuan Shih-kai were transferred to the direct control of the Peking Government, thus constituting the first national army of China. Although the program of 1905 was not completely carried out, there were at the time of the outbreak of the revolution sixteen divisions and sixteen mixed brigades organized on the new basis, or about 250,000 men in round numbers.

Since the revolution additional divisions have been organized under the supervision of the Ministry of War of the Central Government. The term *Chung Yang Lu Chun* (National Army) was used to designate these new troops, and the various divisions and brigades were described by a series of consecutive numbers with the term *Chung Yang Lu Chun* prefixed to the numbers. In 1914 the Ministry of War listed thirty-one divisions and nineteen mixed brigades in the country. Ten years later, after the



war between Chang Tso-lin and Wu Pei-fu in the Fall of 1924, figures available at the War Ministry accounted for thirty-five divisions and twenty-seven mixed brigades.

These figures do not mean, however, that the Chinese army remained stationary during the years 1914-24 in comparison with the preceding ten years. The fact is that the recruiting of new divisions of troops had, during those ten years, passed out of the control of the central Government. During the life time of Yuan Shih-kai as the President of China the Peking Government had some semblance of prestige. Most of the military Governors were his trusted appointees, and consequently obeyed the mandates from Peking. The military Governors were allowed to form new army units only with the permission of Peking and the new troops were under the nominal control of the Ministry of War. If division and brigade commanders were appointed on the recommendation of the military Governors, nominally, at least, they were given their commissions by Peking. Since the Peking Government lost its prestige and the *Tuchuns* (military Governors) became virtually independent military dictators within their own areas, even this nominal allegiance to Peking in regard to the formation of new army units was no longer respected.

#### THE TUCHUNS' FORCES

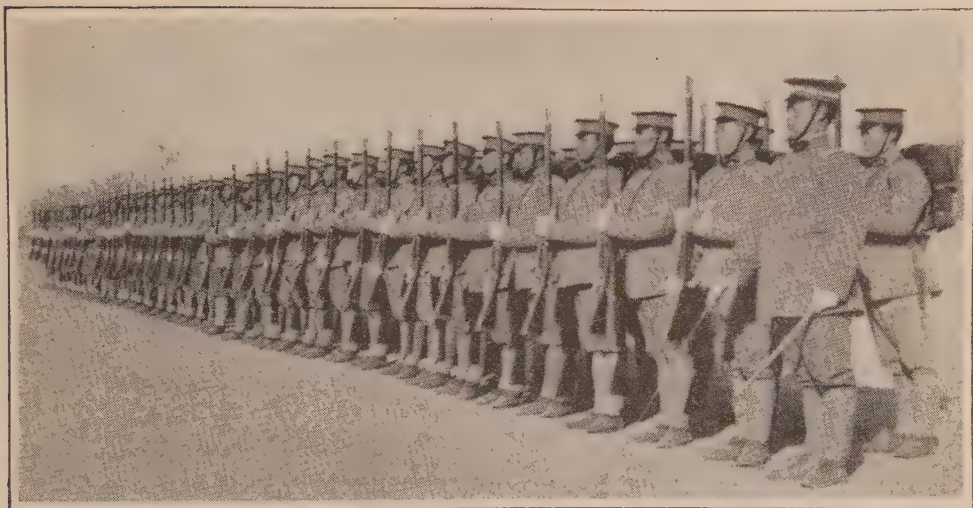
The *Tuchuns* seized every opportunity to augment their forces by recruiting new troops, and such opportunities usually offer themselves after each civil war. The victorious *Tuchun* would absorb the defeated and leaderless forces and create new ones. Commanders of various army units were appointed by the *Tuchuns* on their own authority. Sometimes through the pressure of public opinion and the jealousy of rival militarists Peking has been able to regain some of its prestige and force some of the lesser *Tuchuns* to pay it nominal allegiance, but the last three years have seen the complete destruction of the Peking régime. It became completely the puppet of the military dictator in control of the metropolitan area. Thus, while the official figures at the Ministry of War of the Chinese army units have remained stationary, the actual number of soldiers under arms in China has increased with a rapidity unknown for centuries. Estimates made up to the end of 1925 placed the number of troops in China from 1,300,000 to 3,000,000, excluding the irregulars and constabulary forces of the provinces. The wide disparity of the different estimates indicates the difficulties

involved in making an investigation of the actual number of men under arms.

The structure of the personal armies of the various war lords is similar to the structure of the new army created under the supervision of the Ministry of War. The war lords were quick to see the advantages and superiority of the reformed army units. Many of them have served in the army of Yuan Shih-kai and are therefore inclined to adopt the organization with which they are familiar. These armies, then, may be referred to also as part of the new army that had its beginnings during the time of the Manchus. They are to be distinguished from the provincial forces, known under such names as constabulary, police, salt-gabelle and militia troops, which perform purely police functions, but which are sometimes absorbed into the regular army.

The structure of the Chinese Army has undergone little or no change since its first appearance. The outlines laid down by Yuan Shih-kai with the advice of his foreign counselors have been followed without change except in the nomenclature of some of the units and the commanders. The most important unit is the *shih* (division), which has normally 12,512 men and officers and consists of two infantry brigades of two regiments each, one cavalry regiment of four battalions, one artillery regiment of three battalions, one company of engineers, one company transport and four to five companies of machine guns. In addition there are a number of military police, sanitary detachments and handsmen. The mixed brigade, which is in effect a similar *shih*, is becoming more popular in China as an army unit because of its mobility. It is sometimes difficult to determine whether a mixed brigade is actually a division in its numerical strength, for ambitious brigade commanders often conceal the actual number of their men, usually with the connivance of the *Tuchuns*, so that when the opportunity offers itself, as after a victory, it can be reorganized overnight into a *shih*. General Feng Yu-hsiang's famous brigade was, at the time when he first began to attract public notice, reputed to have over 20,000 men, when its normal strength is about 6,000 men and officers. During the last few years the super-*Tuchuns* or "marshals" have organized their ever growing armies into *chuns* (a *chun* is literally army) or army corps, each consisting of one or more divisions. The development came as a result of the sanguinary wars between rival factions of the





Wide World

A company of Chang Tso-lin's well-drilled soldiers at Peking, the headquarters of the Northern forces

North and between the Nationalist army of Canton and the alliance of Northern war lords, in which several divisions were sometimes engaged in a single flanking movement and thus necessitated a unified control.

The modern Chinese Army is radically different from the old-fashioned *Lü Ying* and Bannermen of the Manchu dynasty. The new army is better drilled, disciplined, officered and equipped than the

obsolete army of a generation ago. Some of the best units, notably the best troops of Chang Tso-lin, Feng Yu-hsiang and Chiang Kai-shek, are comparable to the armies that were engaged in the World War. They are beyond the dreams of the military leaders at the time of the Boxer uprising. In 1900 not all the Chinese troops had firearms, not to say automatic rifles; today the well-equipped Chinese Army has latest model rifles, artillery, trench mor-



Wide World

The first officers of the Nationalist Army to arrive in Shanghai after the capture of the city

tars and machine guns, either manufactured in the leading Chinese arsenals or purchased abroad. Armored trains and motor cars are now used, and hand grenades and poison gas are also made, though they have not yet come into common use. Trench warfare is now the general rule and airplanes serve in observation and bombing.

#### IMPROVED EQUIPMENT

In equipment, at least, the Chinese Army has made steady progress, especially in the last ten years, during which there have been factional wars of national importance almost every year. These deplorable wars had only one thing to recommend them—they improved the fighting qualities of the Chinese Army. Brig. Gen. H. J. Reilly of the Reserved Officers' Corps has said regarding these internal wars that "each by comparison with the previous one shows the armies to have progressed in organization, equipment, armament, ability to handle weapons, tactics, leadership by the officers and strategy on the part of the command."

When, however, we consider the qualifications required of recruits, we do not find any such steady improvement. Soldiers have for centuries occupied the lowest social scale in China, and only desperadoes and riffraff would enlist. In order to break down this prejudice, a genuine attempt was made during the years 1902-1911 to attract the better class of youth to enlist. A wage scale was drawn up that must be considered attractive when compared with the earnings of artisans and laborers. In dollars and cents, the scale was practically the same as it is today, but in those days the real value of a dollar was two to four times as great as it is today. The soldiers were evidently well rationed and quartered. They must have also been intensively trained. The writer can recall in what enthusiastic terms a cousin of his who had joined the *Lu Chun*, or new army, recounted his experience on his furloughs, and how he was looked upon as a personage in the village because he could explain the mysteries of field and mountain guns.

At about the time of the reorganization of the army under Yuan Shih-kai a system of military education was also inaugurated. The program specified the establishment of primary military academies in all the provincial capitals and secondary academies in Peking, Nanking, Wuchang and Sianfu. Most of the provinces had organized the primary schools when the revolution broke

out. The standard for scholarship, especially in science and mathematics, was of a high order, as the ability of many of the graduates shows. The secondary academy at Tsingho, near Peking, maintained, as far as mathematics and science went, standards not at all inferior to a college. After three years at the primary school and two years at one of the middle schools, the best students were sent to the different units of the national army for special training for four months, after which they were to spend two years of intensive and specialized training at the Paotingfu Officers' Training School, which had over two thousand students at the time of the revolution. These schools were continued by the Republican Government during Yuan Shih-kai's Administration, but most of them were discontinued for lack of funds as China became more and more involved in civil wars. The *Tuchuns* established their own schools for training officers, but because of the unstable nature of the Provincial Governments, which changed hands frequently, these schools have been, with a few exceptions, makeshift and unstandardized institutions hardly worthy to be called schools. Most of these do not even pretend to be schools and are known as *chiang wu t'ang* (war lecture halls).

A War College was established in Peking under the direct supervision of the Ministry of War and the General Staff, but owing to the financial difficulties of the Central Government, it never received adequate funds to carry on its work. The institution that has gained the greatest distinction in the history of military education of China is, of course, the Whampoa Academy organized by General Chiang Kai-shek. The phenomenal success of the Cantonese Nationalist forces during the campaign last Fall and Winter is, according to the consensus of military observers, largely attributable to the able and efficient officers that received their training at Whampoa Military Academy.

Turning our attention again to the rank and file of the multitudinous armies that burden and harass the Chinese people, we discover that in recent years there has been a retrogression in the attempt of the early organizers of the modern Chinese Army to induce a better class of men to join the army. The war lords in their eagerness to expand their armies have left quality entirely out of consideration. The personality of the war lords themselves is such that the more scrupulous of the masses hesitate to serve in their armies. Besides,



the soldiers' pay has not only remained stationary as the cost of living mounted, but has also been uncertain, sometimes months in arrears. Consequently, the majority of Chinese soldiers today probably deserve the stigma attached to their profession as much as the soldiery of any preceding period. Recruiting has also become difficult; among other war lords, General Chang Tsung-chang of Shantung, for example, has resorted to conscription in order to increase his army, reputed to be between 150,000 and 200,000.

#### MILLIONS UNDER ARMS

Owing to many factors it is impossible to obtain any accurate figures regarding the actual number of men under arms in China. Estimates made by various newspapers and magazines show a great divergence. The China Year Book (Chinese) of 1924 ventured the figure of 1,620,500 by the end of 1923. Writing in the *Eastern Miscellany*, a leading Chinese monthly, a Chinese authority compiled an exhaustive list of all the known divisions, brigades and regiments after the Shanghai war of 1924 and reached the staggering total of 210 divisions and 180 brigades, or, in round numbers, 3,000,000 men under arms! This figure is obtained by allowing only 10,000 men to the division and 5,000 to the brigade. If we calculate according to the theoretical strength of the *shih* (that is, 12,512), we get the still larger number of 3,527,520! The British-edited China Year Book for 1926-1927 suggests that 2,000,000 is probably a safe estimate. Since the Nationalist campaign to unify China began

last Fall, the number of soldiers must have increased. An estimate that tends toward the 3,000,000 mark would not seem exaggerated. The oppressiveness of the burden is obvious. The question of disbanding these armies and reorganizing them into a single unified and centralized national army is one that China's leaders will have to solve.

Disbandment has been the favorite topic at all the peace conferences following Chinese factional wars, but for obvious reasons it has never gone further than the drawing up of schemes, plans, outlines and such illuminating but impotent papers and reports, since none of the militarists have been sincere in professing belief in disbandment. They believe in disbandment, it is true, but it is the disbandment of the other leader's troops. Before effective disbandment can be attempted, it is necessary to have a unified China, with a strong Central Government, to abolish the *Tuchun* system, to have adequate funds, and to provide effective penalties against unlawful recruiting of new troops by the provincial Governors. When such conditions obtain, China will be able to create out of the multitude of armies a true national army and, by incorporating the best elements of the various armies and by utilizing the arsenals and military equipment of the war lords, carry it to a degree of efficiency impossible under present conditions and make China a first-class military power in the world. The question of a Chinese national army, like almost every other question concerned with China, resolves itself into the question of unification.

## IV.—The Economic Position

By CHARLES HODGES

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WHEN all is said and done, China's problem is one of size and numbers. This empire of the East is too vast for government in the throes of transition to control effectively the far-flung territory labeled "China" on the map, the teeming millions of humanity, too large a population to change their ways of livelihood in an orderly, overnight transformation. Beneath the grind of political events

across the Pacific there lie the basic environmental factors that affect the struggle of one-fifth of the human race for a place in the sun. These are China's national wealth, her resources, the development of commerce and industry, the extension of modern transport and communications as a veritable network of arteries and nerves the length and breadth of this greatest Asiatic country.

Viewed in this light, Chinese politics appear to be made up of superficial rivalries. The perennial struggles for power seem to have a significance as ephemeral as the headlines in the newspapers reporting them. The motives appear to have been primarily personal aggrandizement, the leaders of the locust-like armies that have lived off China since the overthrow of the Manchu Monarchy in the Revolution of 1911 professing much and doing little. Two forces, however, have been more and more manifesting themselves during the past decade of China's internal troubles—nationalism and the industrial revolution. Today, we are perhaps close to the turn of the tide in the direction of the rehabilitation of what was yesterday the "Middle Kingdom." Chinese politics, under the ascendancy of the Kuomintang or "association to bring the country into the hands of the people," becomes an effort to meet the challenging needs of the moment through what might be called social engineering.

The appearance of two camps in embattled China throws into bold relief the vital character of the economic basis of any national renovation. The old order of "war lords," thinking in political terms and acting through militarism, is now on the defensive against the broader political and economic nationalism struggling to control the ship of state. The balance sheet, as it were, of this new China is of far-reaching importance to the world.

Present-day China, the product of more than four thousand years of historical development, is a veritable empire. The territory under the sovereignty of China, however loose the hold of Peking in these troublous times, ranges over 4,278,000 square miles from the Pacific to Central Asia. The historic heart of China, the "Eighteen Provinces," spreads over 1,533,000 miles; Manchuria, the "Three Eastern Provinces," 364,000; Mongolia, the buffer dependency between China proper and Siberia, 1,368,000; Sinkiang, or Chinese Turkestan, 550,000, and Tibet, the buffer "Forbidden Land," separating the Eighteen Provinces from India, 463,000. This is about 1,000,000 square miles larger in the aggregate than the territory of the United States exclusive of its territories overseas. While averages are notoriously deceptive, that of the area of a Chinese province is in the neighborhood of 85,000 square miles, while the area of an American State is about 63,000.

Two-thirds of the Chinese population is

living in one-third of the area. The four hundred millions of Cathay are most densely packed along the east coastal plains and up the river valleys of the Yangtse, the Yellow, and the West—the middle, the North and the South respectively. With the exception of Szechuan, on the headwaters of China's Mississippi, the Yangtse-kiang, the West becomes more and more sparsely settled. The population per square mile varies greatly from province to province. The average density for Manchuria is 37; for Western provinces such as Yunnan, Shansi, or Kansu, respectively, 67, 134 and 47; for those of Central China, instanced by Hunan, 341; the packed coastal plains, Chekiang, Kiangsu or Shantung, for example, 600, 875 and 550. Chihli, the "Metropolitan Province" in which the Northern capital of Peking is located, averages 294; Kwangtung, where is located Canton, the headquarters of the Nationalists since the schism of 1917, has about 372.

China's man power everywhere impresses itself upon the landscape. Vital statistics of a national character are lacking. All authorities agree that China has a very high birth rate; it is offset, however, by an equally high death rate. The net increase, therefore, is low—only about one and a half per cent. a year. Owing to the vast numbers, nevertheless, this means a heavy increase that must find elbow room. Already streams of migration are settling the sparsely peopled parts of China's territories, moving from teeming Shantung to Manchuria, across the Gulf of Pechili, or from the overpopulated coast to her "West" along the border of Mongolia. Maldistribution of China's humanity, rather than overpopulation, is the difficulty.

#### A LAND OF DISTANCES

China is a land of distances—distances unbridged by adequate communications, that have threatened to rend the nation asunder. The extremes of China are thirty days apart and more. It is the underlying physical factor in the present fratricidal struggle. Transportation and communications are more than the wings of authority; they are the sinews of nationalism.

There is nothing like the transcontinental railroad transportation of America. Even today it is impossible to go from Peking to Canton by rail. In Central China the north-and-south railway lines break off unfinished south of the Yangtze; the coast roads likewise end south of Shanghai. East and West the situation is worse, but a single line in Central China skirting the Yel-



low River, runs back from the Pacific Coast toward Central Asia. The reasons? China's over-long sleep in her self-centered past; the rivalry of the Great Powers, which created "spheres of influence," abandoned only after the Great War in the formation of the New Consortium for the international financing of China and long obstructing the non-political, national development of railway mileage; the interregnum of the World War itself, blocking foreign funds and materials from the West; and the protracted internal troubles, contributing to the frustration of new ventures and literally sapping the efficiency of the existing lines.

The Manchu régime did not realize the importance of railways until the latter part of the 1880s. Rapid extension of lines did not take place until after the Chino-Japanese War of 1894. The average mileage constructed per year varied from 135 in the early years of the twentieth century to 188 at the time of the Manchu downfall. Had it not been for the adverse conditions within and without China, the country should have had today at least double its present mileage. China has, all told, only 7,000 miles of railways; this is 1.6 miles of railway to every thousand square miles of territory, whereas the United States has 72.4 miles. Roundly, three-fifths of China's railway mileage is under the control of the Government, about two-fifths being "concessioned" lines under alien control. In the latter category, the Chinese Eastern and the South Manchurian stand out as "political railways" of premier importance under Russian and Japanese control respectively, in what remains, in fact, their spheres of influence. Over 4,000 miles of railway construction under contract, together with nearly 8,000 more, comprise the stakes of stabilization; it has cost China about \$150,000 silver per mile to put into operation her existing system, the figure comparing favorably with the capitalization per mile of American railways, though somewhat higher than that of the British Dominions.

China has a remarkable postal system, supplanting the old communications of the empire in the 1870's. Originally the outgrowth of the use by the foreigners of the Chinese customs for the transmission of communications, the postal service came into being at the end of the nineteenth century and China became a member of the International Postal Union. This modern postal service, replacing the old Imperial Government Courier Service and the host of private native postal services, maintains about

12,000 postoffices; the number of articles posted has increased from 3,500,000 in 1901 to roundly 450,000,000 a year today; and the work is being carried on by every conceivable means of transport—7,000 miles of railway, 25,000 miles of steamer and boat lines and 200,000 miles of courier lines. The hardships undergone in maintaining the last-named service are one of the romances of modern postal communications. The couriers often are on a day-and-night service; the daily stages for travel by foot average from 20 to 33 miles; and the world's longest route stretches far into Central Asia, Tihwa in Chinese Turkestan being linked with China Proper by a courier line of 4,307 miles.

Supplementing the postoffice communications, China has developed both telegraph and telephone lines. The former began to spread over the old Manchu Empire in the 1880s and rapidly linked up the principal cities. The land lines under the Chinese Government administration have a mileage of about 90,000; some 900 offices are maintained, chiefly in the Twenty-one Provinces. The telephone is a late-comer to China, but even the smaller cities are rapidly securing installation. There are now under operation 166,373 miles of telephone wire. The miles of telegraph wire per hundred population for the world are 0.4; for China, 0.02. By way of contrast, the world's telephonic mileage is 4.1, while that of China is only 0.02. Wireless, too, is being utilized in the annihilation of Chinese distances. Here diplomatic problems at the present moment are responsible for China's failure to develop radio circuits on a scale commensurate with her needs. A triangular duel over air rights has arisen from conflicting concessions granted by different ministries of the Chinese Government to the Japanese, British and American wireless interests; the British cable interests, too, have intervened in an endeavor to maintain their monopoly of transoceanic communication. The Chinese Telegraph Administration itself is operating certain stations, the Japanese and British being, numerically speaking, the more important foreign circuits.

#### A WEALTHY BANKRUPT

The Chinese Government—using the term to indicate a national administration for the moment, existing chiefly on paper—is a bankrupt among nations. The Chinese people, however, are collectively in possession of national wealth that makes their future bright. As a government, China today cannot pay her debts. Measured in terms of

dollars and cents, China today is not a going concern. She owed abroad and at home in 1925, \$2,600,000,000 silver, or \$1,300,000,000 gold. This sum, remarks Dr. Frederic E. Lee in his report on banking and finance in China to the United States Department of Commerce, "is a little larger than the net funded debt of the City of New York." Yet since the Washington Arms Conference of 1921, the central Government that was in Peking ran behind \$10,000,000 a month. The foreigner has the principal stake in the public debt, the figures of the defunct Commission for the Readjustment of Finances standing as follows:

#### I. SECURED DEBT.

(Values in Silver)

Foreign .....	\$1,360,000,000
Internal .....	225,000,000

Total .....\$1,585,000,000

#### II. UNSECURED DEBT.

Foreign .....	\$ 300,000,000
Internal .....	236,000,000
Not specified .....	187,000,000

Total .....\$ 723,000,000

Total secured and unsecured ..	\$2,308,000,000
Arrears in administrative charges (salaries) .....	168,650,000
Claims: Indemnities and minor debts not listed above of Japan, Britain, France and the United States (June 30, 1925) ..	14,072,000

Grand total as of 1925 .....\$2,620,722,000

The gross debt of China, taking into consideration the present crisis, would appear to be in the neighborhood of \$3,000,000,000.

This heavy financial overload, on top of China's political troubles, makes all progress toward reform truly difficult. The financial troubles of China are the one thing that cannot be dealt with by the Chinese State policy of evasion. They are aggravated by governmental chaos, the lack of unified political control in the near future, corrupt financial administration, diversion of State revenue into the pockets of the militarist ring that has been looting China's prosperity, venality and padded payrolls.

While the per capita burden is \$3.75 gold for China, it must be remembered that she is a poor country. Her foreign trade is an index of the situation—her imports are about \$2 a head with her exports about \$1.50; but with a revenue that ought to be in the neighborhood of \$2.50 per capita for the central Government, the debt charges alone consume approximately one-third of the income. Nevertheless, China potentially is well able to meet her debts.

Take, in the first place, this alien penetration in human terms. The pre-war and post-war foreign population of China, according to the Maritime Customs, is:

#### FOREIGNERS RESIDENT IN CHINA:

Nationality	1914 AND 1924.			
	Firms	Persons	Firms	Persons
American .....	136	4,365	470	8,817
Austrian .....	19	202	6	100
Belgian .....	15	173	26	573
Brazilian .....				1
British .....	534	8,914	726	14,701
Chilean .....			2	24
Czechoslovak .....			4	140
Danish .....	13	330	39	628
Dutch .....	14	218	38	448
Finnish .....				6
French .....	113	1,864	255	2,175
German .....	273	3,013	253	2,733
Hungarian .....	2	16		1
Italian .....	36	409	49	681
Japanese .....	955	84,948	4,278	198,206
Latvian .....				1
Mexican .....	1	1		8
Norwegian .....	9	258	19	575
Polish .....			1	5
Portuguese .....	32	3,187	131	3,657
Russian .....	1,237	56,319	934	85,766
Spanish .....	23	279	14	314
Swedish .....	4	216	12	225
Swiss .....			29	429
Non-treaty .....	6	95		75
Totals .....	3,421	164,807	7,286	320,829

Now consider the character of China's trade, the total import and export trade standing at about \$1,500,000,000 a year to-day and representing a little more than a hundred per cent. increase over pre-war figures. From the standpoint of national interests, the following tabular summary shows pre-war and post-war trade by countries in percentages of the whole:

#### CHINA'S IMPORTS AND EXPORTS: DIRECT TRADE FOR 1913 AND 1924<sup>1</sup>

Country	Percentage of Imports from		Percentage of Exports from	
	1913	1924	1913	1924
Great Britain .....	16.5	12.1	4	6.5
British India .....	8.2	3.7		1.4
Japan .....	20.3	22.5	16.2	26
United States .....	6	18.3	9.3	13
Germany .....	4.8	3.7	4.2	2
Russia .....	3.7	0.9	11.1	6.1
Belgium .....	2.7	1.7		
Dutch Indies .....	1.1	1.9		1.2
Netherlands .....		1.9	2.1	1.7
Singapore, &c. ....	1.5		1.8	2.5
Macao .....	1.1			
Canada .....		1.5		
Korea .....		1.1	1.6	4
France .....		1	10.1	5.8
French Indo-China ..		0.9		
Italy .....			2.6	1.1
Turkey, Persia, &c. ..				2.4
Other countries <sup>2</sup> .....	4.4	4.6	8	3.4
Hongkong <sup>3</sup> .....	29.2	23.4	29	22.4

Total in Haekwan Taels—  
586,290,431 1,039,102,156 403,305,546 771,784,468  
(Worth U. S. gold \$0.73 in 1913, \$0.81 in 1924.)

<sup>1</sup>Based upon "Reports of the Maritime Customs" (Shanghai), Part I, Report and Abstract Statistics.

<sup>2</sup>Each less than one per cent. of the total.

<sup>3</sup>Though a crown colony of Britain, its free trade policy has made Hongkong a clearing house for the South China trade; consequently the total trade of the United States for instance, with China would be much in excess of the percentage for the direct. Therefore, where no figures are given in the table, it indicates that the volume of trade was found to be below one per cent. or that no direct trade existed.

The modernization of China must be paid



in trade. As yet, the man with the hoe is chiefly responsible for Chinese exports; products such as coarse cotton manufactures, however, are now appearing in other Oriental markets as exports marking the industrialization of what was yesterday the unchanging "Middle Kingdom." One hundred years ago Chinese commercial relations centred solely about Canton, the traffic resting on tea and silk exports westward, while opium, cottons, woollens, and some metals were being imported into this part of the Orient.

Finally, examine the gross foreign investment in China. Exact figures of foreign investments are not available. The total probably stands in the neighborhood of \$3,000,000,000 gold. The largest item undoubtedly comprises railways, other communications, and public works; the second is probably the capital, establishments, and stocks of alien commercial enterprises; missionary investment in the form of schools, religious properties and other institutions would possibly stand third; while the growing funds invested in the opening up of China's natural resources, especially coal and iron mines, rank last. As to the equities of the capital-contributing countries, even less information is available. There is reason to believe that the British investment in China is the largest—possibly as high as \$1,125,000,000. The Japanese undoubtedly is a close second if every sort of State and private advance, including much of the dubious financing of China by Japan during the World War be added. The United States is a poor third; perhaps we have \$150,000,000 in China, \$80,000,000 of which is in non-commercial missionary and philanthropic activities. France, Russia, Belgium, Germany, together with the minor holdings of countries such as Italy and Portugal, complete the picture.

Obviously, in so far as the future of China rests upon economic developments, the commercial, industrial and financial relations of the old Middle Kingdom to the foreign Powers are paramount in the realization of the plans of Young China. The father of the Chinese Revolution, Sun Yat-sen, clearly perceived the importance of securing the economic underpinnings of

China's reconstruction through the aid of the great nations of the West. Toward the close of his days, he specifically laid out plans for the betterment of China without the ruthless exploitation that had come in the past from the sapping "bank-and-railway" diplomacy of the Powers.

#### AN ECONOMIC PROGRAM

This world leader, who built up through the Kuomintang the present Chinese Nationalist Movement, hoped that such economic reconstruction could be secured at the close of the World War. He urged "first, that the various Governments of the capital-supplying Powers must agree to joint action and a unified policy to form an international organization with their war-work organizers, administrators, and experts of various lines to formulate plans and to standardize materials in order to prevent waste and facilitate work. Second, the confidence of the Chinese people must be secured in order to gain their cooperation and enthusiastic support. Third, if the above two steps are accomplished, then the third step is to open formal negotiations for the final contract of the project with the Chinese Government."

That opportunity went by the board, for nations were busy elsewhere. There grew up the breach we now see so clearly between the Chinese and the foreigners all along the line—economic, political and cultural. All China's problems come back to the poverty of the country in material terms, a poverty that prevents the building up of a strong political organization able easily to meet China's obligations and one that no less jeopardizes the whole of the West's interests here in the Far East. At every turn the inexorable economic sabotage of political endeavors is a warning that nothing lasting in the reconstruction of China can come without wholesale material aid from the world. Nowadays it takes money to build a stable State—a stable State to get money. China and the West must begin at one end or the other of the problem of stabilization lest the disintegration that already has eaten far into the vitals of the Chinese people continue its disastrous course.



# V.—The Cultural and Social Background

By P. W. KUO

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THE recent political and military developments in China have attracted world-wide attention. In order to understand the true import of these developments it is necessary to understand the fundamental changes in the cultural, economic and social life of the Chinese people forming the background. To those whose conception of history is more than a mere record of battles and changes of Governments, these fundamental changes are even more important and significant.

China had a stable civilization before her contact with Western nations. Earlier contacts with her immediate neighbors, with the exception of the influence of Buddhism from India, exerted little influence upon the life of her people, as the civilization of these peoples was not as highly developed as that of China. It is true that the Mongol invasion of the thirteenth century and the Manchu invasion of the seventeenth century did succeed in subjugating temporarily the whole country under their rule, but it was the invading conquerors who had the greater part of readjustment to make in their lives.

The effects of the contacts with the West, however, have been entirely different. The Western nations have a more highly developed material civilization and political organization, as well as greater military strength. As a result, many changes have taken place. Some of the changes were made through coercion, others were voluntarily; but all were inevitable. In fact, China is still going through a period of transition and of readjustment.

One of the early changes that had far-reaching consequences in the cultural life of the people was the change in China's educational system. Beginning with the Opium War (1839-1842), China repeatedly suffered defeat at the hands of foreign Powers. Japan, on the other hand, not only defeated China, but succeeded in winning a war from Russia. The growing weakness of China and the rising strength of Japan offered such a contrast that even the Empress Dowager, noted until that time for her conservative attitude, was converted to a program of progressive reform. In 1905 she issued an edict ordering the abolition

of the old Examination System and the establishment of modern schools.

Under the old system degrees of various ranks were conferred upon those who successfully passed the different grades of examinations. The passing of the examinations was a necessary qualification for public office. Thus the high officials of the Government were all learned scholars. This accounts for the Chinese attitude of respecting learning as well as the learned. The Examination System was not intrinsically bad, but it had objectionable features as it was practiced. Its almost exclusive emphasis upon literary merit rendered its value for selecting men for governmental service doubtful. A still more serious objection lay in the fact that it made governmental office the only object of the scholar. Thus the best talents put their entire energy into the study of classics and history and in the perfection of literary style and penmanship. Under such conditions the study of science, either pure or applied, could not develop. This is at least one of the reasons why a people noted in their early history for their genius of invention should have failed to make important contributions to science in their later stages of development. The abolition of the Examination System, therefore, had the effect of liberating the energy of the thinking people and was a turning point in the history of Chinese culture.

The modern educational system adopted in 1905 has undergone successive modifications, 1912 and 1922 being the most notable years of change. The present system is quite in keeping with world movements in educational theory and practice and with the changing ideals of modern China. Co-education was introduced in 1919. Among other significant features introduced by the new system are the training for social service, as distinguished from individual culture of the old system, and the study of the natural sciences in addition to the traditional subjects of history, literature and ethics.

In spite of political unrest and financial difficulties, considerable progress has been made. In 1907 there were only 883,218 students in modern schools. This number



increased to 3,974,454 in 1917, to 4,987,647 in 1922, and to 6,615,772 in 1923. In addition there are more than 300,000 students enrolled in missionary schools and colleges. This represents one of the constructive phases of the missionary enterprise in China.

#### STUDENTS ABROAD

Another important step in educational reform has been the movement of sending students abroad for their education. Japan was, for a time, the Mecca for Chinese students desiring advanced education. Later, however, the number of students going to Japan gradually decreased, while an increasing number went to Europe and America. Studying in America received special encouragement when, in 1908, the United States Government returned to China part of the Boxer Indemnity, a sum amounting to \$10,785,286.12. The money was used for the establishment of Tsing Hua College in Peking and the maintenance of a large number of scholarships for Chinese students in American colleges and universities. The total number of Chinese students now in the United States, including both the Government and self-supporting students, is between 2,000 and 2,500, representing the largest group of Chinese students in any foreign country.

It is noteworthy that in 1924 the United States Congress adopted a resolution authorizing the President to remit to China the remainder of the American portion of

the Boxer indemnity, amounting to \$12,545,438.67. This money has been used for the establishment of the China Foundation for the Promotion of Education and Culture, administered by a joint Chinese-American Board of Trustees of fifteen members. The funds entrusted to the board are being "devoted to the development of scientific knowledge and to the application of such knowledge to the conditions in China, through the promotion of technical training, of scientific research, experimentation and demonstration, and training in scientific teaching and to the advancement of cultural enterprises of a permanent character, such as libraries and the like." In addition to creating professorships at the various universities, subsidizing institutions for better laboratory equipment, and the like, the Foundation is building a library in Peking. It is also operating the China Institute in America, the aim of which is the promotion of closer educational and cultural relations between China and America.

The successive steps of reform have placed China's education upon a modern basis. At one time the conservative element seriously criticized this movement of modernization because it had created certain peculiar problems. Persons educated in modern schools were not satisfied to do the work of the ordinary artisans or tradesmen, and the leaders of industry and commerce, on the other hand, found it expensive and not always profitable to em-



Teachers and pupils of a modern school near Canton

ploy them. Though students educated abroad, forming a more or less distinct group known as the "returned students," were dissatisfied with the existing conditions, they were often unable to utilize their training to improve them. For these reasons some reactionaries went so far as to declare that the introduction of modern education in China was a great failure. Proper readjustments, however, have already taken place and the defects that once existed have largely been overcome. In fact, the tendency is for the young men and women of modern education to exercise an ever-increasing influence. The returned students now constitute a large proportion of the prominent leaders in the various walks of life.

### THE CHINESE RENAISSANCE

The influence of modern education is best seen in the existence of a new cultural movement, generally known as the Chinese Renaissance. One of its important phases has been the language reform. Though the classical written language is the same throughout the whole country, it differs from the spoken dialects, of which there are a great variety. It is so difficult that only a very small percentage of the people have mastered it.

The first step of reform, therefore, was the standardization of pronunciation in order to unify the spoken dialects. In 1912 the Ministry of Education called a conference in Peking and adopted a phonetic alphabet of thirty-nine symbols with which to spell out the proper pronunciation of every character. The Peking dialect, or Mandarin, was taken as the standard. Schools in the various provinces are now teaching this *Kuo Yu*, or "National Dialect."

The second reform was the adoption of the *Pai Hua*, or colloquial style in writing, instead of the classical literary style. This movement, started about ten years ago, was led by Dr. Hu Shih and a number of the younger writers. In spite of the opposition of conservative scholars, the movement soon spread throughout the whole country. Many books and periodicals have appeared in the new style, and schools are now teaching children to write this living language instead of the classical literary style which long ago became antiquated.

This language reform has made possible the inauguration of a mass education movement for the elimination of illiteracy. The significance of this movement can hardly

be overestimated. It is quietly but steadily preparing the masses of the Chinese people for democracy.

There is, however, a more dynamic and pervasive phase to the Renaissance movement. The liberation of the Intellectuals from the old system of "cramming" the classics and the calling into question of the value of the traditional literary style have led to the adoption of a critical attitude toward all beliefs, customs and conventions. In the words of Dr. Hu Shih, it has created an attitude of "conscious experimentation." The result has been a general increase in intellectual activities. The classic ethics in re-evaluated; unorthodox writings of the past are re-examined; great writers of the West are translated and discussed; new forms of poetry are composed; existing social institutions are freely debated. In a word, nothing is either too old or too new to pass without a critical examination. The number of societies which have been organized and of periodicals which have been published to discuss all varieties of questions is almost incredible.

Closely related with the Renaissance is the student movement, which is usually taken to designate the political rather than the purely intellectual aspect of the activities of youth. The date of May 4, 1919, will certainly rank as one of the most memorable days in Chinese history. It was the student demonstration of this day which marked the beginning of a series of most dramatic events in China's political life. When the Peace Conference decided to turn over to Japan the privileges which had formerly been acquired by Germany in Shantung, instead of returning them to China by virtue of her joining the war against Germany, the students organized a vigorous protest through mass-meetings, street demonstrations and merchants' and laborers' strikes. As a result the Government was compelled to dismiss three high officials accused of "selling the country to Japan," and the Chinese delegates at the Paris conference refused to sign the treaty. The triumph of the students was complete. It gave a new impetus to the development of a national spirit.

Another aspect of the Renaissance has been the anti-religious movement, suffered by Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism, as well as Christianity. Christianity was a target of attack because of the application of the critical and rational





A kindergarten class in a school in Canton

Wide World

spirit toward religion and because of the fear of denationalization. Moreover, it is regarded by some as the forerunner of foreign imperialism introduced through the force of the "unequal treaties." The fundamental teaching of Christianity, however, namely, the existence of one God, is practically the same as the ancient belief of the Chinese people. The conception of the Supreme Power, known as *Shangti*, or "Lord on High," existed before the time of Confucius, and was an evidence of the Monotheistic belief of the Chinese people in early days.

#### CHANGES IN ECONOMIC LIFE

The economic life of the people in China is also undergoing great changes. China is largely an agricultural country. Over 80 per cent. of her people are farmers and about 75 per cent. of her exports are agricultural products. With cheap human labor available, and a large number of small land owners, China has found it impracticable to introduce farming machinery. Other improvements, however, are now being made. The educational institutions are paying special attention to agriculture. The National Southeastern University, the Peking Agricultural College, Lingnan University and the University of Nanking have made nota-

ble contributions to the improvement of cotton, wheat and silk. Simultaneous with the improvement of agricultural technique is the attempt to better the life of the farmer. The National Association for the Advancement of Education has recently adopted a nation-wide project for rural education to be completed in five years, including the establishment of training schools for teachers in rural schools and of rural elementary schools and kindergartens, furnishing special supervisors, editing textbooks for rural schools and other literature for rural education, making investigations of home conditions and foreign methods and cooperating with the different organizations to promote general rural welfare.

The industries in China have undergone more radical changes than agriculture. Until the contact with Western nations all manufacturing was done through handicraft. But now an industrial revolution has set in, particularly in ports, where transportation facilities are favorable. Modern factories already number thousands including cotton mills, silk filatures, printing presses, cigarette, match and soap factories, flour mills, paper mills, and tanneries. These are displacing the handicraft industries and absorbing the people thus engaged.

The wealth which China at present pos-

esses is estimated to be about one-sixteenth of that possessed by the United States, while her population is four times as many. Had China more available capital the process of industrialization would have been more rapid. The insufficiency of capital, together with the lack of experience in organization, makes it difficult for the young industries of China to meet foreign competition, especially when they cannot be protected by a higher tariff under the existing "unequal treaties."

This partial industrialization has created many problems pressing for solution. Under the conditions of modern industry the

As a measure of self-protection labor unions have been organized. It is estimated that before the launching of the Nationalist campaign against the North there were already about a thousand unions with about three-quarters of a million members. Since then this number has been greatly increased. Under such conditions it is but natural that strikes should occur. The first serious strike took place in Hongkong in April, 1920, when more than 5,000 workers struck, thereby securing an increase in their wages. Another significant strike was that of the seamen early in 1922, which also turned out to be a victory for the strikers.



Wide World

That the practice of deforming girls' feet is being abandoned by the Chinese is shown by this photograph, taken in Honolulu, of mothers learning how to bandage according to modern ideas in a class conducted for the purpose of teaching child care

workingmen have become a distinct class by themselves. They are often compelled to live in crowded quarters, with very poor sanitary conditions, to say nothing of the lack of provision for proper recreation. The workers include a large number of women and children, who often labor long hours for small wages insufficient to meet the rising cost of living. They are very often unprotected by legislation. It is true that the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce in 1923 promulgated twenty-eight articles governing the conditions of employment. But the Central Government was often unable to enforce them, and where the factories are located in foreign concessions these regulations are, by virtue of extraterritoriality, inapplicable and ignored.

During this period of political unrest strikes were sometimes called for political rather than economic reasons, but in general the laborers have been demanding shorter working hours, higher wages, better working conditions and adequate protection against sickness and accidents.

In spite of unsettled conditions business in China, as well as her foreign trade, has improved since the establishment of the Republic. In 1915 the imports amounted to less than \$358,000,000 and exports barely over \$331,000,000. In 1924 the imports rose to more than \$779,000,000 and the exports to over \$594,000,000. In 1926 the total value of foreign trade, including both imports and exports was more than \$1,500,000,000.





A Chinese mother and her children, victims of famine, waiting in the cold for their daily ration of food, supplied by American relief agencies

The economic life of the people will greatly improve with increased facilities of transportation and communication. Owing to the lack of capital and political unrest the development of railways has been very slow during recent years. But advances are being made in other respects. Since 1921 there has been a movement, known as the Good Roads movement, which is being advocated by the National Good Roads Association. It has enlisted as its supporters many leaders in various walks of life, and has even interested the militarists, some of whom have been making use of their soldiers as road builders. Already more than 10,000 miles of good roads have

been built through the direct influence of the association. As a consequence a large quantity of motor cars and motor buses have been imported into China to supply the growing demand.

Along with changes in economic conditions, there are also changes in the social and everyday life of the people. New tastes and new manners have been introduced from the West. The use of cigars and cigarettes, for instance, is now very common. Moving pictures are enjoying increasing popularity, and there are now nearly 200 companies making their own films in addition to the importation of American and European pictures.

The evil of opium continues to be a



Wide World

Victims of famine in Szechuan, one of the Southern Provinces of China, when rice rose to four times its normal price

serious problem in China because of the smuggling of opium and because the militarists encourage its planting. Though it has been prohibited, the enforcement of the law is no more successful than prohibition of liquor in America. There is now, however, a National Anti-Opium Association of China, which is doing active work. In October, 1926, a large number of important organizations were represented at a national convention held in Shanghai, where a four-year nation-wide program of anti-opium activities was adopted.

A more significant change in the social life of the people is the disintegration of the highly developed institution of the family. Under the old régime, members of the same clan lived together as one family, in a more or less communal life. Property was held in common and administered by the head of the family. There are certain advantages in the system, but the objection is its tendency to destroy individual initiative, independence and sense of responsibility. The revolt of youth and the changes in economic life are beginning to undermine its very foundation.

The sphere of women's activity in China is no longer confined to the home. Their position in industry has been firmly estab-

lished and is becoming an important factor in economic life. Those who have the opportunity of education have found their way into the ranks of nurses, doctors and teachers. The business career is also open to them. Educated women are taking an active interest in social service and in the affairs of Government, and are becoming an increasingly important factor in modern society. (The subject of Chinese women is discussed in detail in an article printed elsewhere in these pages). Early marriage, a common practice twenty years ago, is becoming more and more rare. The young men are supporting their own wives, instead of putting the burden upon their parents. The custom of having parents select life companions for their children, upon the advice of matchmakers, has become unpopular. Opportunities for social intercourse between the two sexes are rapidly becoming more adequate.

It is clear that conditions in China are still in a stage of flux. Changes, cultural, social and economic, are taking place side by side with political changes. In fact, all the great revolutions, political, industrial and intellectual, which have taken place in the Western world during the last three or four hundred years are simultaneously taking place in China today.

## VI.—Previous Internal Disturbances

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THERE are two factors which may be considered as more or less responsible for bringing about China's internal political changes and disturbances during and since the Manchu dynasty—racial animosity and foreign aggression. The former has quickly disappeared since the overthrow of the Manchu régime, while the latter did not become significant until after the Opium War.

During China's long history of almost 5,000 years Manchus were the only alien race, with the exception of Mongols, who invaded the Middle Kingdom and established their domination over the descendants of Huang Ti for more than two and a half centuries. They imposed their manners and customs upon the Chinese, and their method

of government was based upon force and oppression. In the matter of political privileges and civil status, there was great racial inequality between the Manchus and the Chinese. The resulting animosity could not be easily forgotten by the Chinese and was effectively used as a weapon against the Manchu régime in almost all the great political upheavals, such as the Taiping Rebellion and the revolution of 1911.

In the case of a weak nation, pressure arising from foreign aggression has often furnished cause for internal political changes and disturbances. This is especially true of China, whose people have traditionally looked upon the existence of powerful outside enemies as a source of inspiration for their own political reform and progress.



As evidence one may mention the small number of revolts against the Manchu régime during a period of more than two hundred years (1644-1850), when the Government had successfully repelled many barbarian invaders and had added extensive territories to the Celestial Empire. The Taiping Rebellion broke out immediately after China's defeat in the Opium War. The two constitutional reforms launched by Kuang Hsu and later by the Empress Dowager herself respectively followed soon after China's two great humiliations at the hands of foreign powers in the Sino-Japanese War and as a result of the Boxer uprising. Moreover, if the Manchu Government had showed its ability to resist foreign aggression, the revolution of 1911 might not have been so easily successful. Again, if foreign imperialism had not supplied a stimulus in rallying its forces against the old order, the present Nationalist movement in China might have lacked its vigor and power.

The most significant changes introduced by the Manchus into the ancient Chinese system of monarchy were, perhaps, racial representation and racial control in the central and provincial Governments respectively. Under the Emperor as head of the State the country had been governed by a central oligarchy consisting of six boards organized principally after the model of the Ming dynasty. These boards were now reorganized, with the offices of Ministers and Vice Ministers duplicated in order to give equal representation to Manchus and Chinese. The Manchu Ministers, however, always enjoyed precedence of their Chinese colleagues and thus kept them subordinate. Besides certain offices which were prohibited to the Chinese, most of the positions of Viceroys and Governors of the different provinces were occupied by Manchus. In each province the authority of the Civil Governor was jealously watched over by a Tartar General commanding a Manchu army and maintaining his permanent headquarters there.

From the inauguration of the Manchu régime until the close of Chien Lung's reign, however, China was ruled by a succession of enlightened monarchs who carried out many reforms. In addition to repelling many barbarian invaders and establishing China's authority over Formosa, Tibet, Central Asia and Burma, those great Emperors, especially Hang Hsi (1662-1722) and Chien Lung (1736-1796), made efforts to govern the country by promoting literature and the arts. The tendency of the Chinese to revolt thus subsided.

With the accession of Chia Ching (1796-1820) the decline of Manchu supremacy soon began. Great corruption in the Government was revealed, and general unrest and discontent created favorable conditions for the revival and formation of secret societies. Among the best known of these organizations were White Lotus and the Triads, which seem to have been founded in the early part of the Yuan dynasty (1260-1368), the Elder Brothers, a Chinese Ku Klux Klan, of which the Boxers were probably an offshoot, and the Heaven and Earth Society, which flourished late in the Manchu era. The Society of Heavenly Reason did not appear until the reign of Chia Ching. Although outbreaks of some of these societies occurred during the reign of Yung Cheng (1722-1736), they were easily suppressed. But subsequently they became more difficult to control. Some of these societies had as their slogan, "Exterminate the Manchu; restore the Ming," thereby threatening the safety of the throne. It was said that the Manchu Government spent over a million taels for measures of suppression, and in one province alone twenty or thirty thousand persons were executed.

#### THE TAIPING REBELLION

Although the activities of the secret societies caused the Manchu Government much anxiety and trouble, the time was not ripe for a nation-wide revolt until China's defeat in the Opium War. This war brought a startling revelation of the weakness and incompetence of the Manchu Government, and in the eyes of the Chinese the Manchus were no longer fit to remain as a ruling race over them. The discontent of the Chinese was increased and the racial animosity between the Chinese and the Manchus was intensified. An explosion was inevitable, whether the right leader was available or not. Hung Hsu Chuan, the future King of the Taiping Rebellion, was the man forced by circumstances to the front, but he was neither a leader nor a patriot. He had the opportunity but not the will to become the liberator of the oppressed Chinese and the founder of a new dynasty.

Without any definite political program, he relied on religious superstition to incite the ignorant to rebellion. Originally a Buddhist, he suddenly turned Christian, calling himself "the Younger Brother of Jesus Christ" and declaring that his body was invulnerable. His methods were effective for the moment and won him many followers. Within a short time his troops

marched more than a thousand miles from Kwangsi Province through the Yangtse Valley to Nanking. There he established his headquarters and crowned himself in 1853 as the King of the "Heavenly Kingdom of Grand Peace." True, some of his Princes pushed their forces northward until they were within 200 miles of Peking, but the ambition of the "Heavenly King" did not succeed beyond establishing his headquarters at Nanking.

The Taipings, or "Long-haired Rebels," adopted such methods of plundering and looting that they soon turned the Chinese against them. It was Tseng Kuo-feng, a talented Chinese statesman and soldier, and his Chinese colleagues, rather than the Manchus themselves, that were finally responsible for putting an end to the Taiping Rebellion in 1865. Being essentially an anti-dynastic movement, the Taiping Rebellion offers an interesting contrast to the Boxers, as the former were neither anti-Christian nor anti-foreign.

The disorders incident to rebellion led to a series of foreign aggressions—the invasion by British and French troops of Peking in the midst of the Taiping Rebellion (1856-8); the Sino-Japanese War (1894-5) and the scramble for concessions and leased territories by foreign powers (1897-8). All these events, especially the result of the Sino-Japanese War, stimulated China to reform. It was now seen that the Manchu Government was thoroughly corrupt and impotent. Both the Manchus and the Chinese were convinced that unless the whole political system were thoroughly reorganized according to Western ideas and the basis of racial domination and control abolished so as to give more representation to Chinese, another revolt of a far more serious character was inevitable.

Emperor Kuang Hsu, eager for the adoption of Western knowledge and Western methods of government, selected as his advisers a group of young reformers, led by Kang Yu-wei and Liang Chi-chao, and in July, 1898, issued twenty-seven edicts in quick succession, with a view to establishing a constitutional régime. To the great disappointment of the reformers, this movement was destined to come to an end within a hundred days. By a coup d'état of the Empress Dowager in September, 1898, supported by Yuan Shih-kai's army, all the edicts of July were annulled at one stroke. The Emperor was made a virtual prisoner, and, on a charge of treason, six of the leading reformers were executed without trial. Kang and Liang, who were destined to play

more important rôles in the revolution, however, managed to escape.

Disappointment over the collapse of the reform movement and reaction against the constant pressure of the foreign Powers, combined to prepare the way for a violent uprising hostile to the Manchus within and to nations without. The Boxers, or the *I Ho Tuan* (Patriotic and Harmonious Union of Volunteers), were members of a secret society, as has already been pointed out. Their stronghold was in Shantung, the native province of Confucius and one which had experienced the horrors of a foreign invasion, for its finest bay had been occupied by a foreign power. Shantung was ready to launch any anti-foreign movement, but the Boxer movement soon spread to Peking, where the representatives of the foreign Powers were concentrated.

#### BOXERS' LACK OF EXPERIENCE

The Boxers were inexperienced, and the intensity of their feelings against the causes of their sufferings and miseries inclined them to any violence. For this and other reasons they appeared to be fanatics and resorting to mob action instead of acting as patriots under intelligent direction and adequately organized for national purposes. At first they were more anti-Manchu than anti-foreign, thus tending to make their movement a repetition of the Taiping Rebellion, but by the skillful manipulation of the Empress Dowager and her utterly anti-foreign Ministers, the aims of the Boxers were diverted against the foreigners, and their attacks upon the foreign legations in Peking and outrages on foreign missionaries brought disastrous consequences to China.

The results of the Boxer rising and the lessons of the Russo-Japanese War, in which an Asiatic nation defeated for the first time a great Western military Power, had a tremendous effect on the Empress Dowager and her followers. She herself soon became a convert to reform. In 1905 an Imperial Commission, consisting of five high officials, was sent to Europe and America to study Western Constitutions and systems of parliamentary government as a preliminary to the grant of parliamentary control. The report presented by the commission on its return led to an edict being issued in 1908 announcing that a Parliament would be convoked nine years from that date. A penal code after the model of the Japanese code was proclaimed in the same year.

Forces aiming at the overthrow of the



Manchu régime, however, had long been at work. Many influential people who formerly believed in the establishment of a constitutional monarchy as the salvation of China, but who were repeatedly disappointed by the insincerity of the Manchus, became republicans. The announcement of Parliament to be convoked in nine years was already too belated to stem the rising tide of revolution.

Immediately after the Boxer rebellion a revolutionary party called the Tung Meng Hui (Get Together Society) was organized under the leadership of Sun Yat-sen and Huang Hsing. Its chief aim was the overthrow of the Manchu régime and the establishment of a Chinese republic. There had been many attempts to bring about a revolution on the part of Sun's followers in different parts of China before 1911, but all were disastrous failures. Sun Yat-sen and his followers then confined their efforts to secret agitation and propaganda. When the revolution broke out at Wuhan in Hupeh Province in 1911 Sun Yat-sen was still busy preaching his revolutionary cause to his countrymen overseas.

The immediate opportunity for the revolution in 1911 was supplied by the rebellion in Szechuan Province, which arose out of a dispute between the merchants and the Manchu Government over the construction of a railway in that province. When the Manchu officials fired upon the agitators who demanded the release of their arrested leader, the first spark of revolution was struck which set the whole country aflame. The armed revolutionists at Wuhan were quickly joined by the soldiers, and Li Yuan Hung, a military commander of the Manchu Government army there, was made their leader. Huang Hsing soon joined them to conduct the campaigns personally. The circumstances were so favorable for revolt against the Manchus that successful revolutionary campaigns in different provinces swiftly followed one after another. With the arrival of Sun Yat-sen from abroad, the revolutionists had the direction and guidance of their regular leader. The position of the Manchus became so hopeless that the Throne was soon advised to abdicate.

Yuan Shih-kai, the "strong man," who then had the best army at his disposal and could possibly crush the revolutionary forces, was instrumental in bringing about the prompt abdication of the throne on the understanding that he should be elected the first President of the Chinese Republic. Sun Yat-sen, who had been elected the

President of the Provincial Government at Nanking, resigned in favor of Yuan. Being an old mandarin, Yuan really had no understanding of nor sympathy with republicanism. Duly elected and having taken oath as the first President of the Chinese Republic, Yuan did everything but remain faithful to the republican cause.

With Yuan Shih-kai as nominal President, the revolutionary leaders lost no time in organizing their political party and prepared to take control in the new Parliament. The old revolutionary party, called the Tung Meng Hui, was reorganized, and under its new name of Kuomintang became the nucleus of the present Nationalist Party in China. The party gained a majority of members in the new Parliament. Under the leadership of Sung Chiao-ren, the party's candidate for Premier, an attempt was made to organize a responsible party Government which would make the President a figurehead. At the alleged instigation by Yuan, however, Sung was immediately assassinated, and in order to counter the movement of the Kuomintang, Yuan took drastic measures to supersede the Governors who were members of that party by appointing his own men who would act according to his orders.

Unable to avoid an open break with Yuan, three Kuomintang Governors rose in arms against him, but they acted inopportunely, for the people were not interested in the strict interpretation of the Constitution and did not want another war. The so-called second revolution of 1912 turned out to be a complete failure. Moreover, this attempt on the part of the Kuomintang leaders played into the hands of Yuan. He promptly seized the pretext to drive all the Kuomintang members out of Peking, thus dissolving the first Parliament.

#### ORIGIN OF THE WAR LORDS

Yuan employed two methods in dealing with his opponents—bribery and assassination. He thus gathered all the power in his own hands in a short time and put his own men in control of practically all the provinces, thus preparing to make himself Emperor. The powerful "Pei-Yang military clique" organized by him was responsible for producing practically all the war lords in China today and for bringing about the condition of civil war that has marked the last ten years. One man in Peking, however, was even more shrewd than Yuan himself and escaped his suspicion—General Tasi Ao, who fled from Peking immediately before Yuan proclaimed himself Emperor, and

who led an army from Yunan Province to cause his downfall. Yuan's dream of the dragon throne was destined to end within eighty-three days, and he died broken-hearted.

After the death of Yuan, Li Yuan Hung assumed the Presidency and reassembled the Parliament, while Sun Yat-sen and his followers were still carrying on their activities in Canton, being dissatisfied with the settlement at Peking. Tuan Chi-jui was made Premier under Li. Soon there developed the quarrel between Li and the Parliament, on the one hand, and Tuan on the other, on the questions of China's entering the European war and of how to deal with their opponents in the South. Tuan was dismissed, and immediately his military followers met and proclaimed a "Military Government" at Tientsin in defiance of President Li.

#### "BUTCHER OF REVOLUTIONISTS"

Chang Hsun, the "butcher of revolutionists," who claimed to be neutral and impartial, asked to be allowed to come to Peking as mediator. After having deceived President Li and entered Peking with a large bodyguard, Chang Hsun, under the advice of Kang Yu-wei, immediately proclaimed the restoration of the 12-year-old Hsuan Tung as Emperor. Li fled from Peking, reappointed Tuan Chi-jui Premier and ordered him to lead a force to punish the traitors. Hard pressed by Tuan's army, Chang and Kang were quickly forced to flee for their lives, and this melodrama ended within a few days.

When Tuan Chi-jui came back to power after the defeat of Chang Hsun, he organized the Anfu Club, created a "Parliament" and elevated the old politician, Hsu Chih-chang, to the Presidency. At the zenith of Tuan's power in 1919, Wu Pei-fu and Chang Tso-lin simultaneously led their troops to drive him out of Peking. Tsao Kun, Wu's patron and nominal chief, and Chang Tso-lin then exercised their joint control over the Peking Government until 1922, when Wu declared war on Chang and drove him out of the Great Wall. From this time on, the power of the Chih-li faction was supreme and Tsao Kun was soon made President in place of Hsu Shih-chang.

Chang Tso-lin, however, had been preparing to recover his "face," and in 1924 hostilities broke out again between him and Wu. At the time when Wu was conducting his victorious campaign against Chang near Shanhakwan at the door of Manchuria,

Feng Yu-hsiang, the so-called "Christian General," suddenly descended on Oct. 22 from his position at Jehol Pass upon Peking and made a treacherous coup d'état against Wu, announcing the war at an end. Wu was forced to flee before his enemy, Tsao Kun was made a prisoner and Tuan Chi-jui was invited to head a Provisional Government. But cooperation between Chang and Feng could not last long, for Chang hated Feng even more than Wu. In the early Summer of 1926 Chang and Wu, recognizing Feng as their common enemy, patched up their differences and combined to drive Feng's forces out of Peking.

After the establishment of his revolutionary Government, Sun Yat-sen was driven away by his opponents or subordinates and restored to power in Canton many times (1917-1924). Nevertheless, his activities in Canton were destined to lay the foundation of the present Nationalist movement in China. The real power behind the movement is the Kuomintang, which was founded by Sun and his followers. In spite of many outside influences, the Nationalist leaders have faithfully followed Sun's famous "Three People's Principles"—the government of the Chinese people by the Chinese people, for the Chinese people; or, as some one else has put it, nationalism, democracy and social welfare. The Nationalist movement is especially popular with the Chinese people, because it involves three phases of struggle—the overthrow of imperialism, the elimination of militarism and the economic betterment of the whole nation.

The political changes which have already been effected by the Nationalist movement are: first, all the Military Governorships in the provinces under Nationalist control have been abolished and replaced by Executive Committees; second, important measures for promoting the economic conditions of the peasants, laborers and others have been attempted in many Nationalist territories; third, the partial success of the Nationalists in eliminating foreign interference based upon the unequal treaties will have great effects upon China's political destiny.

Despite the present chaotic condition of China, the major tendencies in their political evolution seem full of hope. The old fury against Manchuism and the foreign nations has given way to genuine nationalism. The main political forces of despotism, constitutionalism, militarism and republicanism have followed the logical order of modern political development instead of being merely the parts of a "Chinese puzzle."



# VII.—The Struggle With Foreign Powers, 1840-1914

By JAMES T. C. YU

AUTHOR OF *Economic Geographic Problems in Manchuria*, *The Interpretation of Treaties* AND OTHER WORKS

CHINA has been a victim of sundry international stipulations, the majority of which appertain to the category termed by jurists as *iniquum foedus*, the imposed treaty. Unilateral in character and unequal in import, these stipulations have, in the course of time, threatened to reduce Chinese sovereignty to a myth and Chinese independence to a fiction. "Away with the Unequal Treaties," is the cry we hear today, and yet it is but the logical echo of the cannon shots of the Powers, out of which have sprung all China's ignominious international agreements.

The drama of China's foreign relations consists of two acts: First, the imperialistic scramble for her sovereign rights; second, the restoration of these rights to their rightful owner.

The first act opens with the Opium War of 1840 and ends with the Sino-Japanese War of 1894. Although it is true that China had lost her possession of Macao to the Portuguese before the commencement of the Opium War, yet up to that time she had never, by specific terms of an international agreement, surrendered to foreign aggrandizement and exploitation. Thus the Treaty of Nanking, which closed the Opium War and which registered as the first of all China's unequal treaties, became the first obstacle to China's national development. To the Chinese the cause of the Opium War was plain and simple. It is often stated in the following words: "China refused to allow England's importation of opium. England imposed that importation upon China by force. The right and the wrong are clear. No explanation is necessary." If, however, a more detailed statement of the forces responsible for the conflict is desired, it may be added that the war was provoked by Great Britain with three leading motives: To compel the Chinese to open their country to foreign trade, to secure a Far Eastern stronghold for British imperialistic expansion, and to force the opium trade on China. After the war certain English historians attempted to show that the opium question was not the main issue

and that the term "Opium War" was neither correct nor warranted. But W. E. Gladstone, several times British Prime Minister, said: "A war more unjust in its origin, a war more calculated to cover this country with permanent disgrace, I do not know and have not read of. The British flag is hoisted to protect an infamous traffic; and if it was never hoisted except as it is now hoisted on the coast of China, we should recoil from its sight in horror." In spite of the fact that the war was infamous, the vanquished had to pay the penalty for the sins of the victor. By the Treaty of Nanking, signed on Aug. 29, 1842, the sum of \$21,000,000 was imposed upon China as an indemnity, five cities—Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo and Shanghai—were opened as treaty ports, and the Island of Hongkong was ceded as a perpetual British colony.

This historical document was China's first humiliation at the hands of a foreign nation. It decreed not only the first cession of Chinese territory but also the first payment of a war indemnity, thus opening the easy path for further similar exactions, which eventually rendered China an everlasting debtor to foreign Powers. More important, the evils of the treaty were by no means confined to its own terms. The Hoo-man Treaty of Oct. 8, 1843, the Sino-American Treaty of July 3, 1844, and the Sino-French Treaty of Oct. 24 of the same year were direct consequences, and it was these four treaties that collectively initiated the encroachment upon China's administrative, judicial and political autonomy under the cloak of the most-favored-nation clause, extraterritoriality and tariff restrictions. The seriousness of the most-favored-nation clause in these early treaties was not fully appreciated either by the ignorant Manchu plenipotentiaries or by the pusillanimous Manchu Government at the time of negotiation. Although, according to the prevailing usage of nations, the clause dealt only with specific subjects and possessed different constructions, it is significant that China was given no alternative. Literally speak-

ing, the most-favored-nation clauses in her treaties meant, as one writer phrased it, "that whatever rights or privileges China hereafter once loses to any one nation, she must lose to all." The eighth article of the Hoo-man Treaty provided "that should the Emperor hereafter, from any cause whatever, be pleased to grant additional privileges or immunities to any of the subjects or citizens of such foreign countries, the same privileges and immunities will be extended to and enjoyed by British subjects," and the second article of the Sino-American Treaty, and the sixth article of the Sino-French Treaty contained similar provisions. Henceforth, each Power followed these precedents, and in time the scope of undue privilege obtained through this clause was so widened as even to include such matters as railway loans. The seventh article of the treaty concerning South Manchuria and Eastern Mongolia imposed on China by Japan under the notorious Twenty-One Demands, for example, provided that "when in future, more advantageous terms than those in existing railway loan agreements are granted to foreign financiers in connection with railway loans, the above agreement shall be again revised in accordance with Japan's wishes." Indeed, it is the most-favored-nation clause that has been the means of securing the majority of the extensions of foreign rights and privileges on Chinese soil.

#### EXTRATERRITORIALITY

As a corollary to the most-favored-nation clause the Powers acquired extraterritoriality, which is frequently expressed in the Chinese equivalent, meaning "consular jurisdiction." Although extraterritorial rights were not specifically referred to in the Treaty of Nanking, by implication that instrument really marked the legalized beginning of the system. The thirteenth article of the so-called "general resolutions" issued in pursuance of the treaty provided that "whenever a British subject has reason to complain of a Chinese he must first proceed to the Consulate and state his grievance. The Consul will thereupon inquire into the merits of the case and do his utmost to arrange it amicably. In like manner, if a Chinese has reason to complain of a British subject, he shall no less listen to his complaint and endeavor to settle it in a friendly manner." It seems clear that this provision embraced the essence of extraterritoriality. But if room is left for any doubt which justifies a de-

mand of a more explicit provision of extraterritorial rights, the challenge may be answered by the application of the most-favored-nation clause to the contents of the Sino-American Treaty (Articles 16, 19, 21, 24 and 25) and the Sino-French Treaty (Article 27), that is, the explicit terms in regard to extraterritoriality in favor of America and France therein would be extended to Great Britain even without specific agreements.

That extraterritoriality in China is incompatible with her national development and dignity is obvious to those familiar with Far Eastern affairs. By virtue of its existence, foreigners assumed a status far more advantageous than the natives both in legal controversy and in commercial intercourse. With extraterritorial protection once obtained foreigners, wherever they went, were invested with the rights of consular jurisdiction; they could establish schools according to their ideas even if opposed to Chinese ideas and sentiment; they could organize their own banks, issue their own banknotes and control the money market; they could protect themselves from lawsuits and evade justice in ways which were often beyond the layman's imagination. In a word, extraterritoriality in China is synonymous with *imperium in imperio*, and as such its operations directly impair her integrity as a sovereign State.

With respect to tariff restrictions, attention should be called to the second article of the Treaty of Nanking, which provided that "her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain \* \* \* will appoint superintendents or consular officers to reside at each of the above-named cities or towns [the treaty ports], to be the medium of communication between the Chinese authorities and the said merchants, and to see that the just duties and other dues of the Chinese Government, as hereafter provided for, are duly discharged by her Britannic Majesty's subjects." Although this article alone amounted to foreign consular supervision of the Chinese tariff, the tenth article of the same treaty added that "his Majesty the Emperor of China agrees to establish at all the ports which are by the second article of this treaty to be thrown open for the resort of British merchants, a fair and regular tariff of export and import customs and other dues, which tariff shall be publicly notified and promulgated for general information, and the Emperor further engages that when British merchandise shall have once paid at any of the said ports the regulated customs and dues





Former German Government buildings in the concession at Tientsin, which was taken over by China during the World War

agreeable to the tariff, to be hereafter fixed, such merchandise may be conveyed by Chinese merchants to any province or city in the interior of the Empire of China on paying a further amount of transit dues, which shall not exceed 1 per cent. on the tariff value of such goods."

Even more obnoxious is the fact that in pursuance of the foregoing provisions, the Hoo-man Treaty specifically stipulated that all imported goods were to be taxed at 5 per cent. *ad valorem*, except a few commodities, which were to be taxed at 10 per cent. *ad valorem*. In this manner, the international control of the Chinese tariff system was definitely installed, under the terms of which she could neither adopt a protective policy in order to check the onslaught of foreign manufactured products nor increase her tariff rates in accordance with domestic needs and international economic currents. In other words, she was doomed to linger on the verge of national bankruptcy.

Thus the outcome of the Opium War, as manifested by the four treaties, gave the foreign nations all the essential weapons by which they were able to develop their economic penetration and encroachment. These treaties formed the steel framework of the imperialistic edifice and the additional acquisitions of rights and privileges by virtue of later agreements helped to build up that edifice.

#### CONCESSIONS TO POWERS

In 1855 the second war broke out between China and Great Britain, this time

France joining in the contest. Three years later another war was waged with the same Powers. In consequence of these conflicts the Tientsin Treaties of 1858 and the Peking Treaties of 1860 came into existence. By virtue of them eleven more treaty ports were opened, heavy indemnities were exacted, and Kowloon, on the mainland opposite Hongkong, was ceded to Great Britain. In addition to the concessions in Shanghai, which had been provided for in the Treaty of Nanking, concessions were instituted in Tientsin and Hankow. The extraterritorial rights were multiplied and the tariff rates were readjusted so as to make foreign goods and commerce more profitable at the expense of Chinese industry. It is significant to observe that both the United States and Russia participated in the conflict. The former, though receiving a certain benefit in respect to extraterritoriality and tariff rates, had no share in the indemnities or the concessions of land, but the latter obtained various territories from the Manchu Government. Then came another series of stipulations, concluded for the purpose of wresting from China her various dependencies. Annam, a Chinese vassal State ever since the Han Dynasty, became the chief objective of the French encroachment during the Sino-French War of 1884. The treaty of peace of 1885, the so-called "Detailed Regulations" of 1886, and the special territorial treaty of 1887 eventually transformed this vassal State of China into a protectorate of France. Almost at the same time Burma, another of China's dependencies, conquered by Kublai Khan in

the thirteenth century, was lost. Great Britain, fearing lest France's acquisition of Annam might endanger her rule in India, made war on Burma, captured the King and subdued the country. By a convention, signed on July 24, 1886, China ceded the territory to Great Britain. Siam next received attention. As it lay between their protectorates, and in order to avoid conflict between themselves, Great Britain and France partitioned that part of Siam known as Nanchen, recognized Siamese independence and stopped Siam's payment of tribute to China.

The second period of China's foreign relations extends from the Sino-Japanese War. Although Japan had been a victim of Western invasion and suffered from extraterritorial rights and tariff restrictions, she managed to free herself from foreign bondage by adopting a definite policy. This policy aimed at three things: the annexation of neighboring territories such as the Liuchiu Islands and Korea, thereby expanding the Island Empire; the defeat of China, thereby placing the country's natural resources at Japan's disposal, and the raising of Japan's international status to that of a first-class Power. Indeed, the Sino-Japanese war was waged chiefly for the purpose of carrying out this program. By the terms of the Makwan treaty (or the Shimonoseki treaty) which terminated the conflict China, in addition to other things, had to (1) recognize Korea as an independent State, (2) pay an indemnity of 200,000,000 taels, (3) concede the Liaotung Peninsula, Taiwan (the Formosan Islands) and the Penhui Archipelago, (4) accord to Japanese officials and subjects the same treatment as to the "most favored nation" and (5) open Shasi, Chunking, Soochow and Hangchow as treaty ports. Although the huge indemnities and territorial cessions were unreasonably drastic, they did not embrace the whole of China's loss. Japan also obtained from China nearly all the privileges secured by the other Powers by and after the treaty of Nanking. But the sudden rise of Japan roused the Western Powers to watchfulness and even jealousy. Russia, France and Germany, by joint action, compelled Japan to return the Liaotung Peninsula to China, who, however, in return had to pay 30,000,000 taels. Japanese ascendancy also led the Western Powers to contemplate various schemes for the partition of China such as demands for Chinese concessions and the marking out of "spheres of influence."

Seizing on the murder of two German priests in the Province of Shantung as a pretext, Germany in 1897, sent a fleet to occupy Kiaochow, and China was forced to sign the treaty of 1898, under which Kiaochow was to be leased to Germany for ninety-nine years and important railway and mining privileges were granted. France followed by obtaining a lease of Kwangchow, while Great Britain secured a lease of the whole area of the Kowloon Peninsula, the period in each case being ninety-nine years. In this imperialistic scramble Russia's gain was a twenty-five-year lease of Lushun and Talien, while Great Britain added to her spoils a similar lease of Weihaiwai. The Powers proceeded to protect their concessions by building forts and establishing naval bases. With their mighty armies and navies, the Powers could, if they so wished, conquer the whole of China.

The marking out of "spheres of influence" was also important in the scheme for China's partition. Great Britain claimed the Yangtse basin and Thibet; France, jointly with Great Britain, claimed the provinces of Kwangtung, Kwangsi and Yuman; Russia claimed Mongolia, Chinese Turkestan and Manchuria; Japan the province of Fukien; and Germany the province of Shantung. If the Powers had been absolutely satisfied, they might have easily divided China among themselves, but in the circumstances the balance of power would have been extremely difficult for them to maintain in case of an actual partition. Accordingly, the impossibility of dividing the spoils equally and satisfactorily actually prevented the partition for which the "spheres of influence" had been instituted.

From the Sino-Japanese War to the Boxer rising, China's precarious existence rested chiefly upon the shadow of the balance of power. She had been defeated repeatedly, and had no courage to fight. In the Boxer war, however, the Chinese attitude toward foreign nations was completely changed. The people became desperately anti-foreign. They wanted to break away from foreign domination by force. Although the Boxer movement failed, it made the Powers realize at least two outstanding facts.

#### CHANGED METHODS

In the first place, the danger and futility of the "immediate method" or "violent method" of territorial aggrandizement began to dawn upon the Powers, since conflict between themselves could easily arise. This was illustrated by events after the Sino-



Japanese war, when China was deprived of all influence in Korean affairs. Russia interfered, and a quarrel with Japan resulted. Again, after the joint action of Russia, Germany and France in making Japan give back the Liaotung Peninsula, the Russo-Japanese War became only a matter of time. That war made all the other Powers feel uneasy. Great Britain and France, on account of their respective alliances with Japan and Russia, were almost drawn into the conflict. The Powers saw that they had to abandon the "violent method" of territorial partition and to employ the "mediate" method of economic encroachment.

Secondly, the Boxer rising made the foreigners realize that the resentment of the Chinese against the "violent method" was becoming formidable. Since the "mediate method" could establish control through economic penetration, the Powers were also aware that they lost nothing by dropping the "violent method," designed to bring about partition. Moreover, the definite attitude adopted by the United States at the time when the Powers were clamoring for "spheres of influence" considerably discouraged resort to the "violent method." In 1899 John Hay, the American Secretary of State, made proposals to the leading Powers for the maintenance of China's "territorial integrity," the Open Door policy, and "equality of opportunity." Although Hay's notes did much to develop Sino-American friendship, they had essentially the same purpose as the "most-favored-nation" clauses in Chinese treaties, namely, to provide that the Powers in dealing with China should be upon a basis of equality and that none of them should assert or enjoy rights or privileges not enjoyed by the others.

After the Boxer and Russo-Japanese wars the Open Door principle found formal expression in various treaties with China, the second and third Anglo-Japanese treaties of Alliance in 1905 and 1911, the Franco-Japanese and Russo-Japanese treaties in 1907, the second Russo-Japanese treaty in 1910 and the Japanese-American agreements in 1908 and 1917. Although the Open Door principle prohibited territorial encroachment, its character was such that it could not prevent the economic penetration of China by the Powers.

In spite of the severe exactions of the

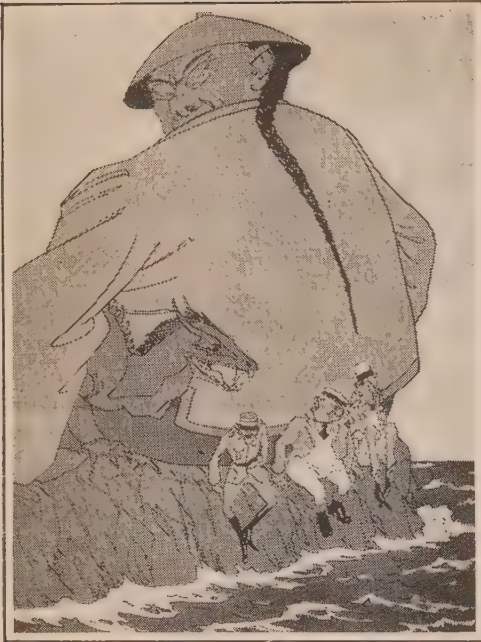


In 1919, when John Bull drove the wicked German Michael out of the paradise of privileged Europeans, naturally he only did his bounden duty—



but in 1927, when the Chinese do the same thing to the brave John Bull, they are the tools of the powers of evil. And Michael dares to laugh!

—*Kladderadatsch, Berlin*



The position of the foreign "concessions" is still very critical.

—Kladderadatsch, Berlin.

peace treaty of 1901, the Boxer rising was more or less instrumental in changing the "violent method" of the Powers. And in spite of the indemnity of 450,000,000 taels, the demolition of the Taku forts and the fortifications between Tientsin and Peking, China succeeded in tiding over the dangerous period of partition. Nevertheless, this did not promise China's national safety. The increasing economic penetration was just as dangerous as any territorial encroachment.

Economic penetration often took the form of railway control, loans, mining and various other financial enterprises. Possession of the East Manchuria Railway by Russia and of the South Manchuria Railway by Japan was not merely economic but also political. These railways were foreign railways on Chinese soil, constituting foreign territory within Chinese territory. On the pretext of protecting them, foreign police and foreign soldiers were stationed in adjacent regions and gradually the "areas of control" of the railways became foreign municipalities. In addition, there were foreign-controlled and foreign-financed railways. The Yunnan-Annam Railway and Kiaochow-Tsinan Railway were controlled

by France and Germany, respectively; the Peking and Hankow, Peking-Fengtien, Tientsin - Pukow, Shanghai - Nanking and other railways were financed by different foreign Powers. Although the foreign-financed railways represented more or less genuine investments, the foreign-owned and foreign-controlled railways which might be used as military transport in time of war by foreign Powers against China constituted a gross infringement of Chinese sovereign rights.

#### BANKING CONSORTIUM

When the problem of foreign investment in railways demanded financial organization, the Powers united to exercise financial control of China—in the form of the Banking Consortium. The American China Development Company had in 1898 secured the construction and administrative rights of the proposed Canton-Hankow Railway. China was prepared to redeem them in 1905, deciding that the section of the railway in Kwangtung Province should be constructed by private capital, that in Hunan Province by private capital in cooperation with the Chinese Government and that in Hupeh Province by the Chinese Government. On account of the lack of capital on the part of Hunan and Hupeh provinces, Great Britain, France and Germany were asked for a loan in 1909, and a consortium of three Powers was formed. The United States protested in 1910, and was permitted to join the enterprise, which, on Japan and Russia joining in 1912, became a Six-Power Consortium. Soon afterward, however, the United States withdrew.

Railway control and banking consortiums—two among several methods of foreign economic penetration—well illustrate the so-called "mediate method." While this process of gaining control was going on, the World War broke out and, incidentally, wrought far-reaching changes in Chinese international affairs. The Twenty-one Demands and the Shantung Problem, the Paris Convention and the Washington Conference were all its by-products. The World War appears to be the turning point in China's foreign relations. Before China entered the war her diplomatic history had been one of territorial losses and deprivation of rights, which subsequently she began to recover. The World War lowered the curtain on the first act of imperialistic scrambling for China's sovereign rights. Subsequent events in the Nationalist movement for the restoration of these rights to their rightful owner are scenes in the progress of the second act.



# VIII.—The Policy of the United States

By STANLEY K. HORNBECK

FORMERLY INSTRUCTOR IN CHINESE GOVERNMENT COLLEGES AND RECENTLY LECTURER  
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*"The United States has always desired the unity, the independence and prosperity of the Chinese Nation." (Secretary of State Frank B. Kellogg, in a statement made public on Jan. 27, 1927.)*

*"The United States, in their relations with China, have always endeavored to act in a spirit of mutual fairness and equity and with due regard for the conditions prevailing from time to time in the two countries." (The United States House of Representatives in a resolution passed on Feb. 21, 1927.)*

THESE two statements are accurately expressive of the historical and the actual attitude of the people and the Government of the United States in regard to China.

The American Government has a duty in its relations with China; it has a two-fold duty: first, to safeguard the lives and interests of citizens of the United States; second, to respect the rights and susceptibilities of the people of China. The safeguarding of the lives and interests of its own people is a primary duty of any Government. When, if ever, an Administration places the interests of another people above those of its own people, that Administration will be untrue to its trust. But when and while doing its duty to its own people, every Administration in this country is expected to respect the rights and susceptibilities of other peoples.

In relations between the United States and China the American Government has a remarkably satisfactory record in that respect. And the present Administration is not ignorant of or indifferent to the record and has not deviated from the principles laid down by a long line of its predecessors. "The Government of the United States expects \* \* \* that the people of China and their leaders will recognize the right of American citizens in China to protection for life and property. \* \* \* In the event that the Chinese authorities are unable to afford such protection, it is, of course, the fundamental duty of the United States to protect the lives and property of its citizens. It is with the possible necessity for this in view that American naval

forces are now in Chinese waters. [Yet] the Government wishes to deal with China in a most liberal spirit. It \* \* \* has never manifested any imperialistic attitude toward that country." Thus we find the conception of that duty expressed in Secretary Kellogg's statement of Jan. 27.

One feature has characterized the attitude of the American people and the American Government toward countries of the Far East from first to last—that of goodwill. American diplomacy has not been free from errors. It has sometimes been shockingly clumsy. But it has been straightforward and it has been, on the whole, generous. In relations with countries of the Far East the United States has given, with almost unstudied and in some cases questionable generosity.

From the earliest days of official contact between the United States and China the principal objective of American policy in regard to China has been to insure for American nationals "equality of opportunity." This has been a fundamental principle of American foreign policy *everywhere*. In the course of his statement of Jan. 27 Secretary Kellogg brought this down to date, as follows: "This Government \* \* \* desires \* \* \* that its citizens be given equal opportunity with the citizens of the other Powers to reside in China and to pursue their legitimate occupations without special privileges, monopolies or spheres of influence."

In the middle of the nineteenth century there was added another objective, that of supporting China in the effort to maintain her political unity and her national independence.

In pursuit of these objectives American action in regard to China has "followed diplomatic rather than military channels." The action of the American Government has been expressive of and in conformity with the ideals and attitude of the American people.

It has been alleged recently that there has been a marked change in American policy. A "manifesto" from the Chinese Nationalists to the American people shrieks of a "catastrophic change in America's policy toward China," declaring that "the

Chinese people believe that the American people are not aware what crimes their Government is committing." There is no evidence that there has been any change in the China policy of the United States. There has been no change.

True, efforts have been made and are being made to commit the American Government to going along with other Powers if and when those Powers decide to embark upon hostilities. But in the 1830s and in the 1850s such efforts were made; the American Government was implored to participate in armed hostilities against China—and it refused. True, the American Government has recently sent naval forces and marines to China. But it has had naval vessels, marines and soldiers in China for decades past. True, it is cooperating with other countries in defensive measures, police measures. But this it did in 1900. The United States sent troops, as did the other Powers, for the relief of the legations. There were hostilities—in which both Chinese and Americans were killed. But in the very midst of these hostilities and while the fate of the foreigners in the legation quarter at Peking was unknown, Secretary Hay circularized the major Powers, saying: "It is the President's policy to seek a solution which will safeguard the independence and integrity of the Chinese Empire." And during the negotiations which followed, in conclusion of the Protocol of 1901, W. W. Rockhill, American representative at Peking, with John Hay behind him in Washington, stood between the Chinese officials (the Emperor and the Empress Dowager having fled from Peking) and the exorbitant demands of certain of the other foreign Powers.

What could the American Government have done in those negotiations if it had not participated in the expedition for the relief of the legations? It would simply not have been present. What would be the verdict of history with reference to the American Government if it had refused in 1900 to send on forces for the protection of its citizens, officials and others, defenseless, shut up in Peking, unable to come out until an escort was sent to bring them out?

There is just one particular, so far as is discoverable from factual evidences, in which the present Administration in Washington has deviated from the course prescribed by the traditions, the precedents and the practices to which, in reference to China, it has fallen heir from a long line of successive Administrations. For almost one hundred and fifty years the American

people and the American Government have proceeded on the assumption that in China there was a Government capable of performing the ordinarily accepted functions of a sovereign authority. Now the American Government has apparently given up that assumption. Except for this one thing, there is nothing to warrant the charge or the suspicion that there has been a change of policy. And this one thing, this dropping of an assumption, can reasonably be condemned or justified only by reference to facts—facts discoverable in the situation in China. Either there is a Government of China or there is not. There are indeed *several* governing authorities in China. There are two "Governments," each of which claims—has claimed for several years past—that it is the "Government of China" and that the others are not Governments at all. That being the case, what is an American Administration to do? Should it recognize both? No one denies that there is civil war in China. Should the American Government back the Peking Government against the Nationalist Government? Should it back the Nationalist Government against the Peking Government? Or should it back both, each against the other? Whatever may be thought, whatever "ought," the fact is it has assumed and it maintains an attitude of neutrality. "During the difficult years since the establishment of the new régime in 1912, the Government of the United States has endeavored in every way to maintain an attitude of the most careful and strict neutrality as among the several factions that have disputed with one another for control in China." Thus declared Secretary Kellogg in his public statement of Jan. 27.

#### AMERICAN POLICY EXISTS

The question of concern at this moment is: What are the foreign armed forces doing in China; and what are they going to do? For the people of the United States the question is pertinent particularly in relation to the American armed forces. The simple fact is that the United States has some thirty naval vessels in Chinese waters and has sent some 4,000 marines to Shanghai. These forces have been used to insure for American citizens protection and facilities which no indigenous authority in China is at present able to guarantee or to afford. With regard to this matter of protection Secretary Kellogg has said: "American diplomatic and military representatives in China are cooperating fully with other foreign representatives *when faced with a*



joint problem such as protection of the lives and property of their nationals." Senator Borah has said: "There seems to be an impression that we are intervening in China, but we are doing *no more* than attempting \* \* \* to insure the safety of our nationals there. We are not sending our armed forces to China to do battle with the armed forces of China. We are simply sending our men there to do police duty." President Coolidge has stated that American troops are in China solely to protect American lives; that they are not there to make war on Chinese nationalism; that they will not be pooled with the troops of other foreign Powers; and that there will be no unified command.

But has the American Government a guiding policy, a policy which goes beyond the exigencies of the moment? The answer is: Yes. Suppose we look at the evidences.

American interest in China has from the first been chiefly commercial and cultural. The first contact was commercial. The first American ship to go to China reached Canton in 1794 on a purely commercial errand. The next contact was cultural. The first Protestant missionary to China, Robert Morrison, British, was carried to Canton in 1807 in an American ship. In the early days of the Canton trade, before the first treaties, "the American came to occupy a middle position in both the trade and the policies of Canton. In every issue between the foreigners and the Chinese, the important question was whether the Americans would find it most to their profit to stand with the English or with the Chinese." This continued after the signing of the treaties. "Sometimes the Americans stood with the British for concerted action, but when the concerted action proposed by the British would have a tendency to weaken the Chinese merchants, or when the British adopted policies directly inimical to the American trade, the Americans were disposed to support the Chinese. In the face of British arrogance and aggression, the Chinese and Americans were allies." (Dennett, *Americans in Eastern Asia*, Page 53.)

The American Government was disposed to have full respect for China's laws. Its instructions to its naval officers sent to China were that they should attempt to prevent smuggling of opium into China "either by Americans or by other nations under cover of the American flag." Its instructions to Caleb Cushing were that he was to go as a "messenger of peace \* \* \* to offer respect and good-will and to establish the means of friendly inter-

course" (on terms as favorable as those which had been granted to British trade). He was to acknowledge the commercial regulations and laws of the Chinese Empire, while at the same time maintaining "the equality and independence" of his own country. Its first communication intended for the eyes of the Emperor of China stated: "Our Minister \* \* \* is authorized to make a treaty to regulate trade. Let it be just. Let there be no unfair advantage on either side. \* \* \* We shall not uphold them that break your laws." But both in the instructions to Cushing and in later instructions, it was laid down that the United States expected as favorable treatment as China had accorded or might accord to other nations. In the treaty which Cushing concluded this was granted to the United States; extraterritorial jurisdiction was provided for, in favor of the United States, but it was also provided that "citizens of the United States who shall attempt" to smuggle or to trade in contraband articles "shall be subject to be dealt with by the Chinese Government without being entitled to any countenance or protection from that of the United States."

In spite of insistence on several occasions by Americans in China that their Government should cooperate in hostilities to settle disputes between China and foreign Powers, the American Government has adhered steadfastly to the belief that a policy of patience and peace is the correct course; that the difficulties in the way of cordial intercourse are chiefly due to differences of manners and customs; and that time will remove or reconcile these differences. Not infrequently it has concerned itself with disinterested mediation on behalf of China. It has repeatedly given its assistance to programs of reform by which the Chinese Government has sought to improve political, economic and social conditions.

#### DEFENDERS OF CHINESE UNITY

In the period 1854-60, when Americans in China, including officials, merchants and some missionaries, urged that the United States cooperate with European Governments in the use of force, the American Government resolutely refused to be drawn into the armed conflict. In 1858 the American Minister attempted, at the request of the Chinese plenipotentiaries, to obtain a modification of the terms upon which Lord Elgin and Baron Gros were insisting in the negotiations with regard to new treaties. In 1867 Anson Burlingame, after six years' service as American Minister at

Peking, accepted, with the approval of his Government, a mission as leader of a Chinese Embassy to the Powers; and Burlingame pled China's cause, asking for patience and an attitude of helpfulness on the part of the Powers, at Washington and at European capitals. In 1884 the American Minister to China and the Secretary of State worked strenuously, at the request of China, to effectuate an arbitration for the settlement of difficulties which, the American offer of good offices having been rejected, became the occasion of war between France and China. In 1894, when it became apparent that China and Japan were coming into collision over Korea, the Chinese invoked the good offices of the United States. The American Government made the offer and it was rejected. The American Government then assumed an attitude of "impartial neutrality," refusing to consider suggestions which came from certain quarters for "joint intervention." During the war which followed, however, the American Government looked after the interests of China in Japan and those of Japan in China. And, at the end, a former American Secretary of State rendered China valuable service in the peace negotiations.

In the period of the Taiping Rebellion, "the greatest civil war the world has ever known," Humphrey Marshall, American Commissioner to China, laid down "the second plank in the platform of American policy—the highest interests of the United States are involved in sustaining China," *i. e.*, in supporting the principle of the *unity* of China. (It is an interesting fact, seldom mentioned, that Marshall insisted, in the presence of proposals to the contrary from some quarters, that Chinese be allowed to reside in the area set apart for foreigners at Shanghai.)

In the first two articles of the Burlingame treaty (China-United States, 1868) there were expressed the principles which later were given more definite and conspicuous form in the Hay notes of 1899 and 1900 and in the multilateral treaties concluded at Washington in 1922: That the sovereign rights of China must be respected and that the principle of equal opportunity for all nations to compete "in trade or navigation within the Chinese dominions" must be respected—in accordance with, but not beyond, "the treaty stipulations of the parties."

Secretary Hay proposed in 1899 that, in reference to their "spheres of interest" in

China, the Powers should follow the principle of equality of commercial opportunity. This proposal having been approved, Hay suggested in 1900 that the Powers should pledge themselves to respect China's territorial and administrative entity: " \* \* \* The policy of the Government of the United States is to seek a solution [of the existing troubles] which may bring about permanent safety and peace to China, preserve Chinese territorial and administrative entity, protect all rights guaranteed to friendly Powers by treaty and international law, and safeguard for the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese Empire." (Circular telegram of Secretary Hay, July 3, 1900.) The Hay notes committed the United States and the other Powers whose replies were favorable to a *cooperative policy*—cooperation in a course of self-denial and restraint. In 1909 an American Secretary of State proposed the neutralization of the Manchurian railways, with a view to averting conflicts in and with regard to that region and to strengthening in relation to various leases and reversions there the position of the landlord, China.

In 1913 President Wilson withdrew the support of the American Government from the American group in the Six Powers Banking Consortium because he felt that the conditions of the loan which was proposed would impair the administrative independence of China and be inconsistent with the traditions of American policy. In 1918 he approved of American participation in the proposed new consortium, because he felt that only by cooperative action could the American Government exercise a restraining influence which would in the long run be to China's advantage.

#### AMERICAN TREATY RIGHTS

In 1915 the American Government alone served notice that it would recognize no agreement which China might be forced to make which would impair the "treaty rights of the United States and its citizens in China, the political or territorial integrity of the Republic of China, or the international policy relative to China, commonly known as the Open Door policy." At Paris the American delegation gave to the Chinese delegation all the assistance that it properly could in the efforts of the latter to procure restoration to China of "lost rights" in Shantung, and later the American Senate and the American people stood with China, until, at Washington, the restoration was





John Bull: "Aren't we going to stand together in China, Sam? Anglo-American solidarity; racial unity and community interests, you know!"

Uncle Sam: "I have no special interests in China; you have. I have no leased territory there; you have. I have no 'foreign' possessions there; you have. I have no concessions there; you have. I have no railroads there; you have. All I have in China, John, are American lives, and I am protecting them, thank you."

—Adams Service

agreed upon. At the Washington Conference the American delegation led in the elaboration of proposals wherein the policy of cooperation was to be given definition and precision, and the principle written into and running through the treaties and resolutions then adopted was that of *co-operative forbearance*, self-denial and restraint in relations with China.

The United States holds no ceded former Chinese soil, no leased territory, no sphere of interest, no "concessions." There are comparatively few Americans in the service of the Chinese Government and comparatively few Americans engaged in railway or mining or other semi-public enterprises in China. Americans resident in China are less in number than are the nationals of at least three other Powers. Two-thirds of the American residents are missionaries. American trade with China, growing rapidly though it has been during the past two decades, does not bulk large in the total of the overseas trade of the United States. The total American investment in China approximate \$150,000,000 (gold).

Thus, in regard to general and constant

principles of policy, the scale is heavily weighted, in so far as precedents, commitments, consistency and interests are to be considered, on the side of pursuit by the American Government of a course which will be: first, unaggressive; second, moderate; third, directed toward the defense of American lives and the conservation of legitimate American interests; fourth, considerate of Chinese rights and susceptibilities; fifth, cooperative in so far as common interests (including those of the United States and of the other Powers *and of China*) are concerned; sixth, independent where the issue is one peculiar to the United States and China or where there arises a question of using force for any purpose other than that of defense. Where it co-operates with other Powers the United States may be expected to use its influence as a *restraining* influence—against aggression. If and where aggression is decided upon, it may be expected *not* to cooperate.

When it became apparent that foreigners would have to come out from interior points in China ships had to be sent. From the interior the foreigners *could not get out* except on foreign armed vessels. Nothing but the presence of these vessels would move many to undertake the journey to the coast. In 1900 the Manchu Government offered an armed guard to take the foreigners in Peking to Tientsin. The foreigners dared not trust the escort. In 1927, before the question of an exodus arose, foreign merchants were being fired at all up and down the Yangtse Valley. The foreign Governments *have* told their citizens to come out. The American Government has no means of forcing American citizens to come out; but it has done everything possible to *get* them out and has provided them the facilities of transportation. President Coolidge has declared, in his prepared address to the United Press Association, delivered in New York on April 26, 1927: "Our citizens (in China) are being concentrated in ports where we can protect them and remove them. It is solely for this purpose that our warships and marines are in that territory."

#### READY TO MODIFY TREATIES

In its participation in the identic note presented to the Chinese Government on Sept. 4, 1925, the American Government said: "\* \* \* the United States is now prepared to consider the Chinese Government's proposal for the modification of the existing treaties." In his statement of Jan. 27, 1927, Secretary Kellogg said: "The

United States is prepared \* \* \* to enter into negotiations with any Government of China or delegates who can represent or speak for China. \* \* \* The Government of the United States \* \* \* is ready \* \* \* to continue the negotiations on the entire subject of the tariff and extraterritoriality or to take up negotiations on behalf of the United States alone. \* \* \* If China can agree upon the appointment of delegates representing the authorities or the people of the country, we are prepared to negotiate such a treaty."

With regard to the tariff, the American Government has officially, publicly and repeatedly indicated its willingness to grant China tariff autonomy, and with regard to this question the American delegations took the lead both at the Washington and Peking conferences.

With regard to extraterritorial jurisdiction, the American Government declared in the China-United States Treaty of 1903: "\* \* \* The United States agrees to give every assistance to this reform [of the Chinese judicial system] and will also be prepared to relinquish extraterritorial rights when satisfied that the state of the Chinese laws, the arrangements for their administration and other considerations warrant it in so doing." Secretary Kellogg has said, in his statement of Jan. 27, 1927: "The United States is prepared to put into force the recommendations of the Extraterritorial Commission which can be put into force without treaty at once and then negotiate the release of extraterritorial rights as soon as China is prepared to provide protection by law and through her courts to American citizens, their rights and property."

"The United States is our traditional friend. She has done incalculable good to China. We appreciate her friendship. We have great faith in your Government, the birthplace of modern democracy." Thus officers of the Chinese Students' Alliance in the United States in a manifesto to the people of America, issued on Feb. 10, 1927. "But," these spokesmen continue, "our gratitude will never ripen unless your Government immediately carries out the intention of the White House and the State Department by sending at once to China a special delegation for the purpose of drafting a new treaty on the basis of absolute equality and reciprocity." The Chinese people have the reputation of being a patient people. But theirs is the patience of passivity. Take away the authority to which they are accustomed, arouse them to action, they become utterly impatient. In China today

political authority has been destroyed; several millions of people have become utterly impatient. In the United States today the majority is inclined toward a policy of self-restraint, a continuation of the traditional policy of the United States in regard to China; and it may reasonably be expected that the Government will exhibit great patience.

"Resolved \* \* \* That the President of the United States \* \* \* is respectfully requested to enter into negotiations with duly accredited agents of the Republic of China, authorized to speak for the people of China, with a view to the negotiation and the drafting of a treaty or of treaties between the United States of America and the Republic of China. \* \* \*." Thus the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States on Feb. 21, 1927. Why, then, does not the President of the United States appoint delegates? Why do not the negotiations begin? The American Government does not appoint delegates because, although that Government has declared its readiness to negotiate, China has not, on her side, expressed a readiness to negotiate. The Chinese people have voiced various aspirations; but no one possessing the authority to appoint delegates to represent the Chinese people has replied to the declaration made by Secretary Kellogg that the United States is willing and ready to enter upon negotiations. A people or nation cannot converse authoritatively with another people or nation. Only through representatives can there be concluded between States treaties which will express the rights and the obligations of the nations or peoples thus committed in their relations with each other.

#### NEW TREATIES NECESSARY

Why, then, does not the American Government give the Chinese what they ask, *without* negotiations? Why does it not declare the objectionable provisions in the treaties between the United States and China terminated? Secretary Kellogg has stated one reason. He explains: "Existing treaties which were ratified by the Senate of the United States cannot be abrogated by the President, but must be superseded by new treaties negotiated with some body representing China and subsequently ratified by the United States." (From Secretary Kellogg's statement of Jan. 27, 1917.) The other reason is that the treaties are a network. An abrupt cutting away of some of the strands, without making provision for their replacement or for splicing stray



ends together, would be like performing an operation without paying any attention to the wound made in the process.

With whom, if the American Government were to appoint a delegation, would that delegation negotiate? The question requires no answer. With regard to negotiations which other countries have been or are conducting with Chinese authorities, the story is this: The Nationalist Government (then at Canton) served notice in July, 1926—while the Tariff Conference was still in session and delegates of twelve foreign Powers were in Peking—that it would recognize no treaty which might be concluded by the Peking Government. The British have conducted, through their Peking Legation, *not* through a specially appointed delegation, certain negotiations with the Hankow Government, with regard to a *particular* matter—the British concession of Hankow; and certain negotiations with the Peking Government, also with regard to a *particular* matter—the British concession at Tientsin; but those negotiations have nothing to do with the main questions between China and the Powers, the questions of the tariff and extraterritoriality. The United States holds no concessions in China and therefore has no such problem as that which the British have been discussing with the Hankow and the Peking Governments. True, the United States has a joint interest in the international settlement of Shanghai; and with regard to that, Secretary Kellogg has declared officially that the American Government is prepared to negotiate. With regard to the British-Chinese discussions at

Peking, the Hankow Government gave notice in February last that it would not recognize an agreement which might be entered into between the British Legation and the Peking Government. Japan has been negotiating with the Peking Government intermittently for a year and a half through its legation in Peking—and no agreement has been announced. Belgium has been negotiating—through its legation in Peking—because the Belgian-Chinese treaty was due for revision in October, 1926, and the Peking Government at that time declared it terminated, and the negotiations appear so far to have been confined to the question of the Belgian concession at Tientsin and a *modus vivendi*, not to the major “unequal treaty” provisions.

When the United States begins to negotiate with representatives of China, the negotiations will have to relate to matters which are of concern to *all* China and with rights which the United States enjoys in common with *all* the Powers and with reference to *all* China. For the United States holds in China no exclusive privileges.

With regard to possibility of intervention: Many people have advocated it—for a hundred years. Few have ventured to suggest what form it should take. Intervention on a large scale intended to establish order and set up a new Government in China would not be practicable. Intervention for any other purpose would serve only further to complicate the China problem. Nowhere in American official circles has there been heard any suggestion of intervention.

## The American Note to the Nationalist Government

The following is the text of the terms presented simultaneously by the consular representatives of the United States, Great Britain, Japan, France and Italy to Eugene Chen at Hankow and to the representative of General Chiang Kai-shek at Shanghai on April 11, 1927:

Under instruction of the American Government I am directed by the American Minister to present to you the following terms, which are simultaneously being communicated to General Chiang Kai-shek, Commander-in-Chief of the Nationalist armies, for the prompt settlement of the situation created by the outrages against American nationals committed by Nationalist troops at Nanking on March 24 last:

1. Adequate punishment of the commanders of the troops responsible for the murders, personal injuries and indignities, and material

damage done, as also of all persons found to be implicated.

2. Apology in writing by the Commander-in-Chief of the Nationalist army, including an express written undertaking to refrain from all forms of violence and agitation against foreign lives and property.

3. Complete reparation for personal injuries and material damage done.

Unless the Nationalist authorities demonstrate to the satisfaction of the interested Governments their intention to comply promptly with these terms, the said Governments will find themselves compelled to take such measures as they consider appropriate.

The accompanying statement, issued by the State Department, was as follows:

Upon the entry of the Nationalist forces into Nanking there were perpetrated against the foreign Consuls and other residents, by uni-

formed and organized bodies of troops of the Nationalist armies, during the morning and afternoon of March 24, systematic outrages upon their persons and properties. A number of Americans, British, French, Italian and Japanese nationals were murdered or wounded; many others were brutally assaulted and their lives jeopardized; they were robbed and treated with the utmost indignities, and women were subjected to nameless outrages. The American, British and Japanese Consulates were violated and their national flags insulted. The houses and institutions of all foreigners resident in Nanking were systematically looted and in many cases burned.

In view of these manifestly premeditated assaults upon their official representatives and upon their nationals peacefully engaged in their lawful occupations, the Governments of the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan have found it necessary to formulate demands for satisfactory amends by the responsible Nationalist authorities. The terms thus agreed upon are studiously moderate, covering only the minimum of what would, in the circumstances, be done by way of honorable amends by any Government conscious of its own dignity and its duty to other friendly peoples in the family of nations.

These demands are not made in derogation of the sovereignty or dignity of the Chinese people, whom the interested Governments are glad to believe friendly and with whom they earnestly desire to continue and improve relationships of good-will and cooperation. They are directed rather toward those influences, both foreign and Chinese, which made themselves responsible for the Nanking outrages by their activities in seeking to break up the existing friendship and to inflame the Chinese people to distrust, hate and violence toward the people of the friendly Powers.

A reply to the American note was received from Eugene Chen on April 15. The text was in slightly garbled form and the State Department immediately sought to verify it. As received and made public, by the State Department, the reply from Eugene Chen was as follows:

1. The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Nationalist Government is in receipt of the United States Government's note dated April 11, 1927, formulating terms "for the prompt settlement of the situation created by the outrages against American nationals committed by the Nationalist troops at Nanking on 24th of March last."

2. In reply to the American demand for "complete reparations for the personal injuries and material damage done," the Nationalist Government are prepared to make good all damage done to the American Consulate at Nanking on the ground that, whether or not such damage was caused by Northern rebels or others, as stated in the preliminary statement issued by the Nationalist Government on March 31 last, the fact remains that the American Consulate on Chinese territory has been violated.

3. As regards reparation for personal injuries to American nationals and other material damage done, the Nationalist Government are prepared to make all reasonable and necessary reparation except in cases where it can be definitely proven that the same have been

caused by the British-American naval bombardment of Nanking on March 24 or by Northern rebels and agents provocateurs.

4. The demand for the "adequate punishment of commanders of the troops responsible for the murders, the personal injuries and indignities, and material damage done, as also of all persons found to be implicated," necessarily assumes the guilt of the Nationalist forces who captured Nanking.

While this guilt is contained [denied] in the preliminary statement issued on March 31, a rigid Government inquiry is being conducted in order to ascertain the exact facts of the case, including verification of the outstanding facts reported to the military council by General Ching Chien, who took Nanking, that his forces rounded up and captured approximately 30,000 Northern soldiers with rifles, besides thousands of camp followers inside the City of Nanking itself.

General Ching Chien has also reported that a number of those implicated have been executed.

The Nationalist Government propose that the question of punishment should await the findings of either the Government inquiry now in progress or of an international commission of inquiry to be immediately instituted by the Nationalist Government and the United States Government.

As the laws of nations and the recognized practice of civilized States prohibit the bombardment of a city on the territory of a friendly State, the Nationalist Government propose that the commission of inquiry shall also investigate the circumstances of the bombardment of the unfortified City of Nanking by the naval forces of the United States Government on March 24 last.

5. The demands for an "apology in writing by the Commander-in-Chief of the Nationalist army, including an expressed written undertaking to refrain from all forms of violence and agitation against foreign lives and property," is, so far as an apology is concerned, justified only on the proof of Nationalist guilt for the disturbances at Nanking. The Nationalist Government, therefore, propose that the question of an apology should also await the determination of the question of guilt either by the Government inquiry now in progress or by the proposed international commission of inquiry.

In the meantime the Nationalist Government hereby repeat the expression of profound regret which the Minister of Foreign Affairs communicated to the United States Government directly it was reported to him that the American Consulate at Nanking had been violated.

6. The Nationalist Government, as a reasonable governing body, naturally cannot countenance the use, in any form, of violence and agitation against foreign lives and property. Indeed, the protection of foreign lives and property has been repeatedly declared to be the settled policy of the Nationalist Government. The proper authorities of the Nationalist army will, of course, be instructed not only to give a written undertaking in this sense, but to see that effective measures are taken to afford proper protection to foreign lives and property.

7. The Nationalist Government, however, would be lacking in candor if it should fail to regard and emphasize that the best guarantee



for the effective protection of American and other foreign lives and property in China lies in the removal of the fundamental cause of the present troubled relations between Nationalist China and the Powers who continue to sustain the régime of the unequal treaties. It is these inequitable treaties that constitute the chief danger to foreign lives and property in China, and this danger will persist as long as effective government is rendered difficult by foreign insistence on conditions which are at once a

humiliation and a menace to a nation that has known greatness and is today conscious of renewed strength.

8. The Nationalist Government, accordingly, are prepared and ready to appoint delegates to negotiate with delegates of the United States between Nationalist China and the United States of America on terms which, while assuring the legitimate interests of the latter, shall modernize international intercourse between the two countries.

## President Coolidge's Statement of April 25, 1927

President Coolidge's address at the dinner of the United Press Association in New York on April 25, 1927, contained the following reference to China:

Another important problem in our foreign intercourse relates to China. That country is undergoing a revolutionary convulsion. It is broken up into several separate parts, each claiming to represent a Government, none of which we have recognized. Our main difficulty here is the protection of the life and property of our citizens. We have many missionaries there and some commercial establishments. We have nothing in the way of concessions. We have never occupied any territory. Our citizens are being concentrated in ports where we can protect them and remove them. It is solely for this purpose that our warships and marines are in that territory.

While this process was going on the unfortunate incident arose at Nanking. One of our citizens was murdered, another was wounded, our Consulate was violated, and when the house in which our people had taken refuge was surrounded and they were actually under fire it became necessary for one of our ships and one of the British ships in the harbor to lay down a barrage to drive away the soldiers and the mob who were making the attack and to enable our citizens to reach a place of safety on our ships in the river. We presented with the other Powers who had suffered like attacks identic notes of protest, to which a reply has been made, which, although conciliatory in tone and to a certain degree responsive, leaves the final disposition of the issue a matter for further consideration by our Government.

Weeks ago we saw this situation developing and sent a suggestion to the contending factions that they exclude the foreign quarters of the City of Shanghai from the area of military operations. This they failed to do, making the dispatch of our forces necessary. In a public statement issued by our Secretary of State on the 27th of January we indicated that we were ready to negotiate a treaty giving China complete tariff autonomy and to negotiate the release of extraterritorial rights as soon as China is prepared to give protection to American citizens and their property. The friendship of America for China has become proverbial. We feel for her the deepest sympathy in these times of her distress. We have no disposition to do otherwise than to assist and encourage every legitimate aspiration for freedom, for unity, for the cultivation of a national spirit and the realization of a republican form of government. In the turmoil and strife of the present time we realize fully that forces may be let loose temporarily beyond their power to control which may do injury to American nationals. It is to guard against that eventuality that our forces are in Chinese waters and to do what China itself would do if peace prevailed. We do not wish to pursue any course of aggression against the Chinese people. We are there to prevent aggression against our people by any of their disorderly elements. Ultimately the turmoil will quiet down and some form of authority will emerge which will no doubt be prepared to make adequate settlement for any wrongs we have suffered. We shall of course maintain the dignity of our Government and insist upon proper respect being extended to our authority. But our actions will at all times be those of a friend solicitous for the well-being of the Chinese people.



# IX.—The Attitude of Great Britain

By HARRY HUBERT FIELD

LATE CAPTAIN, BRITISH ARMY

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, statesman and scholar, sixth President of the United States, stood on the platform addressing the Massachusetts Historical Society, his subject the war between Great Britain and China, the "opium war" as it has been called: "It is a general, but I believe altogether mistaken opinion, that the quarrel is merely for certain chests of opium, imported by British merchants into China, and seized by the Chinese Government for having been imported contrary to law. This is a mere incident to the dispute, but no more the cause of war than the throwing overboard of the tea in Boston Harbor was the cause of the North American Revolution. The cause of the war is the pretension on the part of the Chinese that in all their intercourse with other nations, political or commercial, their superiority must be implicitly acknowledged and manifested in humiliating forms. It is not creditable to the great, powerful and enlightened nations of Europe, that for centuries they have, for the sake of profitable trade, submitted to these insolent and insulting pretensions, \* \* \* contrary to the first principles of the law of \* \* \* the mutual equality of mankind." (*Memoir of the Life of John Quincy Adams*. By Josiah Quincy, LL. D., pp. 3401. 1858.)

To perform kotow, to kneel down before the Emperor and strike their heads three times on the ground, was demanded of the first two British Ambassadors to Peking. The Earl of Macartney, wishing to show every possible courtesy to his accredited country, agreed to this humiliation upon the one condition that a Chinese official of rank equal to his own should perform a similar ceremony before a portrait of the British sovereign dressed in robes of state. But this reciprocal performance was refused by the Chinese hierarchy and thus the mission ended in failure. (*The International Relations of the Chinese Empire*. By H. B. Morse, pp. 51-8. 1910.) Twenty-four years later, in 1816, Lord Amherst as Britain's second Ambassador to the Celestial Empire was handled even more grossly than was his predecessor simply because he also refused to kotow. (*Ibid.*)

Later, in 1834, when Lord Napier was appointed Superintendent of British Trade

at Canton, all other seaports being closed to foreigners by Imperial edict, he sent a letter to the Prefect of the city announcing his arrival. This letter was returned unanswered excepting for a line on the cover informing the "barbarian eye" that the document was "tossed back" because it was not marked with the character *pin* or *ping*, which signifies a "humble petition." (*Awakening of China*, W. A. P. Martin, p 153. 1907.)

That British Ambassadors journeyed to Peking, that Lord Napier sailed the China Sea because England desired for her merchants in China security and equality of treatment, is a fair statement. Trade took the British to China, and trade will keep the British in China. But the trade of opium was not the cause of the war of 1840-42 nor was opium ever forced upon China by British power. ("With the introduction of the vicious opium habit [into China] the British had nothing to do," *ibid* p. 152). If that war had been fought to secure a market for Indian opium, as is often alleged, the fact would have appeared in the treaty of peace. But no word is said about opium trade in the Nanking Treaty.

The British Isles, unlike the United States or China, are too small to support their population without foreign trade. Britain must have overseas trade or starve. And the British believe that trading is a legitimate activity. Without approximate security for human life, without a reasonable amount of safety and without equality of commercial terms, trade is impossible. Wherever these are granted, whether it be New York or Tokio, no foreigners need concessions, nor do they demand special courts for their citizenry. They do not need the protection of their Government where assured of security and equality by an established Government. But before 1842 the British did not receive equality of treatment at the hands of the Chinese, and so "the first war with China was but the beginning of a struggle between the extreme East and the West, the East refusing to treat on terms of equality, diplomatically or commercially, with Western nations, and the West insisting on its right to be so treated." (*A Sketch of Chinese History*, by F. L. Hawks Pott, p. 130. 1903).



That the Chinese themselves have benefited as much as, if not more than, the foreigner by the lawful inter-trading that ensued cannot honestly be denied. Yet, today we hear the cry "Down with the British." Why? Because the British were pioneers in China. Because they have always been in the van in making it possible for the merchants of one civilization to trade with those of a totally different civilization. And, because, when the Nationalists needed a rallying cry, "Down with the British" best suited their national and international purposes.

Events in 1925 provided the anti-British propagandists with excellent material. In Shanghai there is a large international settlement governed by an elected municipality which was presided over by an American citizen. The municipality has its own police force over which the British Government has no control whatsoever. A riot occurred; the police were forced to fire on the crowd; and because the force had British officers the incident was represented as an act of British aggression. In like manner when the troops in the Anglo-French Concession in Canton were obliged to fire in self-defense, the fact that a part, but only a part, of the force was British was seized as additional material for anti-British propaganda. But that Great Britain stands ready today to change the old treaties and to relinquish all special rights in China is a fact that nobody can circumvent. Let us listen for a moment to Sir Austen Chamberlain, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, speaking in Birmingham on Jan. 29 of this year:

"In the Far East, above all, we are a nation of shopkeepers. All we want is to keep our shops open and be on good terms with our countrymen. We realize no less than the most patriotic Chinese Nationalists, that old treaties are out of date, and we desire to put our relations with China on a basis suitable to the time in which we live. \* \* \* The principal matters which the Chinese desire to see changed in the old treaty are, first, the extraterritorial position of all foreigners in China, by which they are only tried by their own courts and their own laws; secondly, the tariff provisions, which prevent China from raising duties on foreign goods; and, thirdly, the quasi-independent status of the foreign concessions. His Majesty's Government are prepared for change in all these points, for the present system is antiquated."

China today has no central Government to negotiate with; yet the British Govern-

ment stands ready, as Sir Austen Chamberlain declared in the address just quoted from, to "try to negotiate this change with the contending Governments, even in the midst of civil war." This new policy was put into actual practice on March 14, 1927, when the British Municipal Council and the British regulations of the Hankow concession were dissolved. By agreement with the Nationalists, a new council took over the control of what had been the British concession. This council consisted of three Chinese members, appointed by the Nationalist Minister of Foreign Affairs, of three British members, appointed by the Consul General and of a Chinese Chairman, the Mayor of Wuchang. If any one imagines that the remaining British concessions in China are today cherished possessions they fail to understand the first rudiments of the situation.

"Why then," some one may ask, "has Britain sent so many troops to Shanghai?" To protect her nationals and her legitimate



THE BRITISH TROOPS IN SHANGHAI

John Bull: "You are very glad now that I brought my umbrella with me."

—De Groene Amsterdammer, Amsterdam

trade interests. Events have justified this precaution. If the guard at Shanghai had been weak, if Shanghai had suffered the same experience as Nanking, where white women were assaulted and white men killed, the shame and the slaughter would have been far heavier than at Nanking, and nothing could have stopped foreign intervention. But military intervention is the last resort of the British Foreign Office, which adopted instead a policy of prevention rather than cure, of closing the stable door before the horse should escape, thereby saving foreign lives and keeping their own and other foreign commercial machinery intact.

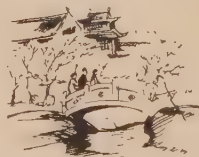
What of the great masses of the Chinese people, that vast ocean of patient humanity representing one-fifth of the world's population? Not to their voice are our Western Governments listening, but only to the noise of the few, the fractional percentage of selfish politicians backed by the element of Western-trained students. The masses know nothing of concessions, courts of law or tariffs. Their only interest is to get sufficient food to keep body and soul together with a hope of one day having something to spare. Today their chances of that hope have vanished into the distant future, for they alone ultimately must pay for the armies that march and countermarch over their war-torn bodies. If the interests of the masses rather than the few, were to be the first consideration, then the Powers would intervene to give China a stable government until she is able to govern herself.

As I write cables arrive stating that the so-called Hankow Government is "advocating that a special concession be handed to the Japanese, that the British concession be given back to the British and that the former Russian concession be given to the United States." (*Special Cable to The New York Times for Shanghai, Dated May 1, 1927*). Why this sudden about-face by the Hankow Government? Was not this the Government that only four months ago incited an ignorant mob with inflammatory speeches to attack the British concession in Hankow, to ruin British women and to drive the foreign devil out of China? On that occasion a mere handful of British

marines held the infuriated mob at bay for one whole long afternoon, showing real heroism and extraordinary discipline in withholding their rifle fire under the most provoking showers of bricks and worse missiles, while not a single coolie was killed.

Perhaps my own experience in China will best illustrate why Eugene Chen, Michael Borodin and their satellites are now asking the superbly hated British to take over once more the concession snatched from them so short a time ago. When returning from Peking in November, 1925, I had the pleasure of dining in Tien-tsin with Major Gen. William Durward Connor. The General commanded the American forces in China, occupying a comfortable house in the British concession. Somehow the conversation touched on the acute housing problem in that concession. "But General," I said, "While I was walking around this afternoon I thought I saw lots of nice houses that were unoccupied." "Oh, yes," came the reply, "they are empty, but they are all owned by Chinese Government officials in Peking, who never know on what day of the week they will need them as refugees. The houses you saw are their 'funk-holes.' With every change of Government in Peking the officials have to escape to the British concession here, that is, if they want to keep their heads on their shoulders."

The Hankow Government wants to see foreign concessions once more in that city so that its leaders may keep their heads when Chiang Kai-shek, Marshal Chang Tso-lin, or whoever it may be, arrives with his army. For the same reason few prominent Chinese politicians want to see all the British concessions vanish, and this fact constitutes one of the complications on the Chinese side rendering it difficult for the British to negotiate new treaties. When, however, the Chinese are earnest in desiring the Powers to carry out their liberal policies, so often repeated since the Washington Conference, they need only live up to their own professed guarantees of security for life and property and they will receive all their demands. Moreover, they will find Great Britain leading the way to resuscitate to them their full sovereignty.





# X.—The Basis of Japanese Diplomacy

By K. K. KAWAKAMI

AMERICAN CORRESPONDENT OF THE TOKIO *Nichi-Nichi* AND THE OSAKA *Mainichi*

IT is fortunate that the fall of the Japanese Cabinet under Premier Wakatsuki (April) was precipitated, not because of its foreign, and especially its Chinese policy, but because of public disapproval of the measures it proposed to rescue the Bank of Taiwan (Formosa) from a state of serious financial embarrassment. So far as the Chinese question was concerned, public opinion, apparently, had been unanimously in sympathy with Baron Shidehara, the retiring Foreign Minister, whose policy of "watchful waiting" had evidently been based upon sympathetic interpretation of the nationalistic aspirations of Young China. The relief of a semi-governmental bank in distress is not so serious a matter as to force the resignation of a Cabinet. Unfortunately, it involved in this case a question of official probity, inasmuch as the great liabilities of the bank had been caused by its reckless financing of the speculative enterprises of a private business firm, Suzuki & Co., of Kobe. Hence the retirement of Premier Wakatsuki, leader of the Kenseikai Party, and the organization of a new Cabinet by the Senyukai Party under the leadership of Baron Tanaka.

To many, Tanaka's appearance upon the political stage at this moment is rather disquieting. He has long been identified with the Choshu military faction, and is said to cherish the ambition to succeed to the mantle of the late Prince Yamagata, the "super elder statesman" of Choshu origin. An army officer by training, he has never occupied a Cabinet post, except as Minister of the Army. At the last session of the Diet his conduct in connection with the Allied Siberian expedition of 1918 was the target of severe strictures made by his political opponents. Will he reverse the policy of restraint and moderation so persistently followed by Shidehara in the present critical situation in China? Will he launch a vigorous policy and, in cooperation with England, embark upon an undertaking whose purpose will be to coerce China into submission? And what will be his attitude toward Russia? Is he still hostile to the Soviet Republic, as he apparently was in the years 1918 to 1921?

The crux of Japan's foreign relations is China, with Russia looming significantly in the background. Will Tanaka's policy toward these two neighbors be liberal, conservative, reactionary or imperialistic?

The rôle of Cassandra is not an enviable one. It is futile to prophesy what the new Cabinet will do. To a historian it is more important to survey the radical change that has come over Japan's sentiment and attitude toward China in the past five or six years. The turning point was the Washington Conference. There Japan's past record was ferreted out and scrutinized by unsympathetic eyes, and in consequence some of her treaties or agreements with China were abrogated or nullified. Japan, instead of resenting the interference of the third parties, swallowed the medicine with what grace she could, and has since striven to adjust herself to the changed conditions of the world. The termination of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance threw her upon her own resources in formulating her diplomatic policies. Out of this new experience developed an ability to shape her own plans unencumbered by the sentiments and attitudes of foreign Governments, especially those of an ally. Forsaken by her Western friends, as Japan saw it at the Washington Conference, she made up her mind then and there to alter her diplomatic orientation with a view to seeking new friends among her immediate neighbors, that is, those on the Asian Continent. The result has been discernible in her recognition of Soviet Russia, her fraternization with China, her conclusion of "equal treaties" with Persia and Turkey and her friendly attitude toward Siam. Japan, in short, has turned a new leaf in her book of diplomacy. She has learned that her destiny lies in the East, and that her fortune is so closely bound up with those of her Asian neighbors that she can not afford to jeopardize their friendship in order to please the Western Powers.

This new orientation, based upon the general awakening of the Japanese people, is not likely to be changed by whatever Cabinet may appear upon the stage. As the great river, with many reflux eddies and backward bends, ultimately flows into the sea, so the new diplomatic policy of Japan,

in spite of possible reactions and backslidings, will not swerve from its essential course—friendship with the peoples of the East. Especially with reference to China there is plenty of evidence showing Japan's genuine intention to befriend her. We need not prate about Japan's prompt withdrawal from Shantung, nor about her remission to China of the Boxer indemnity and of the money due her on the sale of the Shantung railway, nor about the withdrawal of her troops from Hankow and other points where they had been placed for the protection of foreign life and property. These were nothing extraordinary. What made profound impression upon China for the first time was the stand taken by Japan in the wake of the Lin Cheng incident of May, 1923—an incident resulting from the kidnapping from a railway train of some thirty foreigners for ransom by Shantung bandits. Shocked by the enormity of the crime, certain Western Powers, especially England, proposed a plan for international control of all Chinese railways both as regarded their traffic and their policing. Even the United States was reported as not entirely averse to the proposal. Japan alone stood firm against it. But for her opposition the railways of China, like her Customs, would have long since been taken away from the Chinese and would have passed into international, chiefly British, control. Under such a control the railways might have been made safer and financially better off, but it would surely have added fuel to the anti-foreign sentiment then already ominous.

#### SUPPORT OF CHINESE CLAIMS

No one can fail to notice the friendly relations existing between the Japanese and the Chinese delegations at the League of Nations. Whether on the opium question or on the question of the seating of China at the Council of the League, Japan has always extended a helping hand to the Chinese delegation. Nor can one fail to recognize Japan's stand taken at the International Conference on China's Customs Tariff, which opened at Peking in October, 1925. On the very first day of the parley Japan boldly came out for China's tariff autonomy. The proposal was not unconditional, but whatever conditions were attached thereto were regarded by the Chinese as worthy of consideration. Though the conference, due to the disintegration of the Government which had called it, adjourned without results, this Japanese proposal made a lasting impres-

sion upon the Chinese mind. Japan, of course, realizes that it is impracticable to accomplish much in a diplomatic way in the present distracted condition in China, but she has been acting upon the principle that anything which would help realize China's nationalistic aspirations would be appreciated by both the North and the South. When Peking, last October, asked the Japanese Government to negotiate for a new treaty on the basis of equality, Tokio replied:

The Japanese Government have on more than one occasion made clear their settled intention of extending every reasonable assistance to China toward the attainment of her legitimate national aspirations. The two nations have so many of their essential interests in common. Nothing would be more gratifying to the Japanese people than to see China enjoying the blessings of peace and good government within her borders, and taking her rightful place in the family of nations. \* \* \*

The Japanese Government are happy to accede to the request of the Waichiao-pu (Chinese Foreign Office) made in pursuance of Article 26 of the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation of 1896, and are ready to enter into negotiations with the Chinese Government for a revision of the tariffs and of the commercial articles of the treaty. \* \* \* The Japanese Government, however, have no intention of limiting the scope of the negotiations to the questions defined in Article 26 of the treaty. Without prejudice to their legal position in the matter, they are willing to consider sympathetically the wishes of the Chinese Government for a more extensive revision.

Thus negotiation was commenced in January between Dr. Wellington Koo, Foreign Minister of the Peking Government, and Mr. Kenkichi Yoshizawa, the Japanese Minister at Peking, who two years ago successfully conducted most difficult negotiations with Soviet Russia. Though this important parley, as far as the outside world is concerned, has been completely overshadowed by the more stirring events on the Yangtse, it has, nevertheless, been making steady, if somewhat tortuous, progress. Agreement is reported to have practically been reached on these points: (1) Japan to recognize statutory, i. e., autonomous, tariff for China; (2) a preferential tariff to be adopted for certain special goods; (3) both preferential and reciprocal tariffs to be prepared with due regard for China's industrial and economic policies, and (4) the scope of operation of the most-favored-nation clause, pending the revision of China's treaties with all foreign Powers, to be determined by a Sino-Japanese joint committee. Should the Peking Government fall before the onslaughts of the Cantonese,



Japan undoubtedly would negotiate with the Nationalists in the same spirit. By acts, if not in words, Japan has clearly indicated her willingness to deal with the Nationalists as soon as they succeed in organizing a Government which she could reasonably recognize.

#### RESTRAINT IN CHINESE CRISIS

The restraint with which Japan, both diplomatically and militarily, has faced the anti-foreign agitation in China is the most remarkable page in the history of Japanese policy in that country. Even when the Japanese Consulate at Nanking was raided and robbed by Nationalist soldiers, the Japanese warships declined to join the British and American ships in shelling the city. And the Nationalists, whether of the right or of the left wing, have not been slow in appreciating Japan's conciliatory attitude. It is indeed significant that the Japanese have been comparatively free from the damaging effects of the anti-foreign uprising, except in cases where ignorant mobs and irresponsible soldiers have temporarily got out of the control of the Nationalist leaders. To demonstrate their friendliness toward Japan, the Nationalist Government last January sent to Tokio a special envoy in the person of General Tai Tien-chou. He was not officially recognized by the Japanese Government, but was enthusiastically welcomed and most cordially treated by Japanese publicists. He had, moreover, several long conferences with Mr. Katsuji Debuchi, Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Mr. Y. Kimura, Chief of the Bureau of Asiatic Affairs of the Foreign Office. What was discussed between them was carefully guarded, but enough leaked out to indicate the nature of the Nationalist message brought by General Tai. Indeed, the Japanese press reported that the Nationalists had signified a desire to establish a close relationship with Japan on the basis of equality and reciprocity for the common welfare of the two nations. In order to accomplish this end, they intimated a willingness to enter into a sort of economic alliance with Japan. As a step toward such a new relationship they were reported to have offered Japan a railway concession in the Yangtse Valley, or, to be more precise, they proposed to use Japanese capital to build a Nationalist railway between Nanchang and Foochow. Nor has Peking, as opposed to the Cantonese Nationalists, been unappreciative of Japan's changed attitude. When, last January, dispute arose between the Peking au-

thorities and Sir Francis Aglen, the British Inspector General of the Chinese Customs, the Chinese Government even intimated that it might replace Sir Francis with a Japanese. Though eventually another Englishman, A. H. F. Edwards, succeeded him, a Japanese was given the important post of Chief Secretary of the Customs Board vacated by Mr. Edwards's promotion. Never before had so important a position been offered anyone but a Britisher, least of all a Japanese.

In regard to Japanese enterprises in Manchuria, the Nationalists are said to have proffered an assurance that they would not be unreasonable, and that they fully appreciated Japan's position in this respect. This brings us to the crux of the Sino-Japanese problem, for Japan's greatest concern unquestionably is her position in Manchuria. Once she is convinced that her enterprises there (launched primarily to secure her position in the face of the Russian advance, and secondarily to relieve her plight in the lack of raw material) will not be molested by the Nationalist or any Government which will eventually assume control of China's destiny, she will certainly go a long way to meet its desire and to assist in its endeavor to abolish unequal treaties.

The greatest of Japanese enterprises in Manchuria is, of course, the railway. Three nations are represented in railway enterprise—Russia with 1,067 miles, China with 800 miles and Japan with 694 miles. The South Manchuria Railway Company, which has just commemorated the twentieth anniversary of its organization by expending millions of yens for charitable purposes in the territory along its lines, may well be regarded as the symbol of Japanese enterprise and efficiency. Foreign travelers who come to Manchuria, after observing apparent anachronism and inefficiency in Japan, are invariably struck with the modern, progressive methods discernible everywhere along the railway. Wherever you alight from the train a modern city, with its well-laid, well-paved roads, its substantial brick buildings, its electrical lighting and telephone systems and its water and gas supplies, greet you. When all other railways in China are on the verge of collapse, largely due to reckless exploitation by rapacious militarists, the South Manchuria Railway alone is reaping a handsome profit, that for 1926 amounting to 34,000,000 yen. Other Chinese railways could be made equally profitable if only the same honesty and efficiency which characterize the manage-

ment of the South Manchuria Railway were applied to them. Chang Tso-lin, war lord of Manchuria, looking with envious eyes at the prosperity of the Japanese-owned railway, has been coveting it. But every one, Chinese or Japanese, knows that the moment the railway passes into the hands of General Chang or any Chinese administration, military or civil, it will be reduced to a state of wreckage and bankruptcy. The goose that lays golden eggs is of no use when it is strangled to death. The time will come some day when China will rid herself of her pestiferous militarists, put her house in order, and establish an efficient Government, but until that time comes, her far-seeing leaders admit the wisdom of placing the South Manchuria Railway under Japanese control, thus ensuring it against militarist exploitation and civilian "squeezing." However distasteful to them it may be, they are forced to bow to the inescapable logic of facts. They cannot close their eyes to the obvious fact that while the Japanese railway has been making money, it has also been generous in utilizing its earnings for schools and hospitals and the improvement of public health for the benefit of both the Chinese and Japanese. They recognize also that the Chinese themselves are the greatest beneficiaries from the enormous increase of South Manchuria's exports of agricultural products from a negligible quantity to 200,000,000 Haikwan taels a year, for the farmers there are not Japanese but the Manchurian natives and the Chinese immigrants who come from beyond the Great Wall lured by the prosperity, peace and opportunity made possible by the Japanese railway enterprise in the yet undeveloped but enormously rich agricultural regions. China does not permit the Japanese to engage in farming in Manchuria. It is unquestionably frank recognition of these facts which is reported to have caused the Nationalists to take a reasonable and conciliatory attitude toward the Japanese in Manchuria. Looking at the question through the perspective of history, they are impelled to admit that in 1896 Li Hung-chang committed China to an alliance with Czarist Russia in the now celebrated Li-Romanov secret agreement, thus abetting Russia's imperialistic ambition to crush Japan and to annex Korea and Manchuria. They cannot deny that had Japan kept out of the arena Manchuria would have long since become Russian territory.

One can well imagine that Japan's independent diplomacy in China has not been

pleasing to Great Britain. Again and again Japan has taken action contrary to Britain's desire. Tokio, divorced by London, no longer feels herself obliged to take orders from Downing Street on the Chinese or the Russian question. When Lloyd George, for the purpose of pleasing America, scrapped the alliance with Japan, many thought it a stroke of diplomacy. As a matter of fact, it simply opened Pandora's box. It marked, in fact, the beginning of Britain's decline and Japan's rise in China. The Japanese diplomats, having for twenty years been accustomed to lean on the alliance with Britain, felt piqued, disconsolate and distressed when in 1921 London moved for its termination. In the light of what has since happened Japan has no longer any reason to regret the abrogation of that pact, much less to desire its resuscitation. On the other hand, there is increasing desire among Englishmen, both at home and in the Far East, to restore their relationship with Japan to its former cordial state. It would be little short of miraculous if Japan were persuaded to meet such a desire. This, of course, does not mean that Japan is hostile to England. Friendly to her Japan will always be, but she cannot for obvious reasons ignore the fact that her fortunes are more closely intertwined with those of her immediate neighbors. In the present status of England's foreign relations it does not seem practicable for Japan to cast her lot with Britain without jeopardizing her own position in China or prejudicing her friendly relationship with Soviet Russia.

#### RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA

Rightly or mistakenly Japan has come to believe that her welfare and her legitimate interests in Manchuria can best be promoted by a policy of friendliness and conciliation toward China. In regard to Soviet Russia, Japan feels that disruptive propaganda against her from that source, both in Manchuria and Korea, can best be avoided by fostering amicable relations with the Soviet Government. And, in befriending her immediate neighbors Japan does not believe it necessary to antagonize the more distant ones. Japan, in short, is readjusting her foreign policy to meet her peculiar necessities and in accordance with the principle of friendliness to all nations. This new policy, this new diplomatic orientation clearly reflecting the sentiment of the Japanese people, is not likely to be altered by the new Cabinet, especially as Premier Tanaka will rely upon the counsel of such



younger diplomats as Kenkichi Yoshizawa, Tsuneo Matsudaira, Yosuke Matsuoka and Kumataro Honda.

#### PREMIER TANAKA'S STATEMENT

Since the above was written, Baron Giichi Tanaka, on May 5, made the following statement before the House of Representatives, then sitting at special session:

The Cabinet is not contemplating taking sides with any of the factions now warring in China. Disputes or differences among these factions are entirely China's own affairs, which must be adjusted by the Chinese themselves. Our only concern in the present situation is the protection of the life and property of our nationals in China and the preservation of their legitimate rights and interests. For such protection and preservation we shall not fail to take the necessary measures of self-defense.

In a recent statement I said that we could not remain indifferent to Communist activities in China. By that I meant to convey the idea that we must be fully prepared to guard ourselves against the violence and destructive acts attendant upon communistic agitation. Should such activities become increasingly dangerous we certainly could not be indifferent.

This, however, does not mean that we entertain any apprehension as to the preservation of our friendly relationship with Soviet

Russia, for we believe that Russia fully understands our position in this respect.

It is noteworthy that the moderates in China are gaining in influence, and that the violent extremists are becoming less conspicuous. If the situation continues to improve without untoward incidents the time will come when we shall be able gladly to meet China's aspirations for autonomy.

In view of this encouraging development in China we see no need of adding anything to the demands recently presented to the Hankow authorities by the previous Cabinet conjointly with other interested Powers.

Mischievous rumors have been spread to the effect that the present Cabinet is contemplating the dispatch of armed force to China. Such rumors are entirely groundless. We know that a mobilization of troops under any circumstance is a very serious matter, which requires the utmost caution.

The Nanking outrage, regrettable as it was, does not seem to have been entirely as serious as has been commonly reported. As investigation progresses it becomes evident that there have been misunderstanding and misinformation about this incident.

The first joint note of the Powers on the Nanking incident has brought no satisfactory result. The Powers are now studying the second step to be taken. The Cabinet, in seeking the adjustment of this matter, endeavors to maintain harmonious relations with the Powers. We feel that international harmony is especially necessary in a situation such as now confronts the Powers in China.

## XI.—Official Corruption and Barbarity

By J. N. PENLINGTON

BRITISH JOURNALIST RESIDENT 25 YEARS IN THE FAR EAST; FOR MANY YEARS TOKIO  
CORRESPONDENT OF THE *LONDON Times*

**M**ILLIONS of good American dollars have been invested in China for purposes well established in the American mind, and yielding, as the generous givers are well persuaded, ample dividends in new-found happiness and prosperity among very many thousands of the industrious Chinese people. The question whether China can reform will therefore evoke doubt, and may cause distrust in what the questioner has to say. By China we do not mean the China of the missionary societies, the China of the treaty ports, but the China of officialdom, the be-all and end-all of life in the Middle Kingdom, the bureaucracy of the most populous and the most conservative nation in the world. For nearly 400 years Western nations have been battling with China, and have ever been defeated, because China will not reform. We should receive with caution all that we read about

the manifestation of the "reform spirit" in China, for it has never taken root in the only place where it ought to grow and flourish—in the mind of the official class—if it is to benefit the common people.

Although we seem unequal to the task of reforming China, in the last few years she have undoubtedly gone a long way toward reforming us, for the endless activities of her propagandists, native and foreign, have deeply impressed the world, not with the need of reform in China, but with the world's own selfishness, intolerance, shortsightedness and inability to understand what a wonderful country China really is. An atmosphere has been most successfully created during the past decade in which those who speak the simple truth about the Middle Kingdom are at a decided disadvantage. It is most natural, though neither logical nor creditable to the thinking man,

that those who have been the agency whereby millions of dollars have been sent into China to rescue the perishing, to build roads, to restore canals, should not wish to be told that their money has not only been thrown away, but that its giving has helped materially to create that situation in the Chinese Provinces that has wrought the present havoc, and assisted in the perpetuation of the most worthless class among the people, the "student" agitators, the so-called intellectuals, who see profit not in labor but in continual agitation, and now fully realize the wondrous results to be attained by appealing to the West in language that the West can understand.

Our generation is not the first to "help reform China"—and of a surety, it will not be the last. We go on, with a commendable perseverance. The great decrepit nation of the Orient has at all times exercised a fascination upon the nations. Despite continual insult, humiliation and rebuff for the Ambassadors of the Western nations during centuries of intercourse, admiration for China's achievements and her "civilization" remains unabated. In a hundred places in China at this very moment unselfish, self-sacrificing men and women, Americans and Europeans, who have dedicated their lives to the welfare of the Chinese people, are being beaten by mobs. Their homes and effects are being destroyed, and they are being driven forth along wintry roads without even shoes to protect their torn and bleeding feet. Never have the great ideals of the Christian nations been so exalted as by the men and women who have lived and worked and died in China; never have a people so brutally and so cruelly repulsed those who would save them as the Chinese people have treated the strangers within their gates. The history of China in the past century is one long tribute to the valor and self-sacrifice of the adventuring pioneer races of mankind, whether that adventure be in the field of trade and industry, Christian missionary enterprise or exploration and travel. Men of the Anglo-Saxon race have been ever in the van. Not for nothing have the people of little England stood against the tyrant, for wherever they have gone they have fought tyranny, and nowhere with such deadly persistence as in the Middle Kingdom, where they have battled valiantly against ignorance and disease, and earned undying glory. They have been sustained by an undying love for the Chinese people, for the millions, and ever been on their side against the exactions of the most

tyrannous, corrupt and inefficient bureaucracy that was ever permitted to exist.

### THE MERCHANT CLASS

The outstanding fact in our long relationship with China is this—that the people remain essentially the same as in the days a hundred years ago when the American clippers carried opium to China for the "John Company" and returned laden with tea to England; and a Yankee service of steamers churned the waters of the Yangtse! Those were days of high adventure for all nations bold enough to try for trade, and great were the fortunes made in one single voyage; and heavy the price often paid! But equally, visions of endless wealth floated before the eyes of that incomparable business man, the Chinese trader, and ever was he the secret enemy of the mandarin. Wealth was thus legitimately created, and both sides were satisfied; but the pioneers were hampered by conditions unimaginable, and forgotten by so many today who, under changed but not necessarily better conditions, criticize our ancestors for the goods they sold and the policy they pursued in China. The peacefully disposed trading nations were never on any but the best of terms with the Chinese merchant, even in Canton, that hotbed of anti-foreignism. The early records of American trading with that port are interesting reading, showing that the merchants of New England, equally with those of South China, profited greatly, and would have continued on their profitable way but for the covetousness and greed of the official class. It was the notorious Imperial Commissioner E whose haughty attitude toward the American and British representatives, his refusal to receive them or have aught to do with them, provoked the Powers to concerted efforts, and resulted in the famous treaties of the early forties, by which America, France and England secured the right to live their own lives under their own laws. Then began an era of diplomatic relationship that by turns was ludicrously comic and terribly tragic.

It is a curious fact that the first of Britain's representatives after regular relations had been established expressed the highest opinion of that class of the Chinese people who must bear the odium for all China's sorrows, where those have been created by man's inhumanity to man. Sir Henry Pottinger, who signed the Treaty of Nanking (Aug. 29, 1842), speaking at Liverpool, where he was entertained by the merchants on his return after forty years' service in China, ascribed to the mandarin



class the highest qualities of mind, broad and statesmanlike views. Among his contemporaries, however, Pottinger stands almost alone in his estimate of the Chinese official class. From the very first, there has been only one view of the character of the all-pervading mercantile element, and the still lower masses, in their relations with the foreigners, which were invariably pleasant, but the officials stand low indeed in the opinion of all who were brought into contact with them during the middle decades of the last century. Chinese official ignorance has always been the ignorance which refused to be enlightened except by force. When an imperial mandate in terms of unspeakable contempt for the invading Europeans, deliberately set prices upon the heads of Ambassadors, Generals and common soldiers, stipulating the price to be paid for each grade and degree, the least imaginative obtains a faint idea of the conditions under which trade was carried on in the treaty ports. Actual conditions are little changed, as recent reports from the Middle Kingdom amply demonstrate.

What was it produced an official class unequalled for pride and prejudice, craft and cruelty—a bureaucracy so utterly unlike the individual Chinese? The peculiar form of "education" that all had to undergo who aspired to office in the service of the State must be held chiefly responsible. This very old and revered system was recently discarded, but nothing Chinese has taken its place. Those now active in the service or disservice they are rendering their country are almost all graduates of foreign schools, and spent their student days in Hongkong, Japan or the United States.

#### CHINESE "DIPLOMACY"

England and America, in particular, have always been troubled as to the most effective methods of conducting relations with the Chinese authorities. "Patience" is not the word to describe the attitude of their representatives in the face of the interminable delays, evasions, duplicities and humiliations that have ever characterized Chinese "diplomacy." The successive American envoys accredited to China, from Caleb Cushing downward, have been sorely tried. At this period, so frequent were the violations by the official class of the most ordinary human rights (not to speak of treaty rights), that the widespread feeling of injury which infected all nationalities vented itself in a rain of pamphlets intended for consumption by the home Governments and peoples. Individuals and groups of men,

British and American mainly (other nationals seem to have recognized the futility of "writing home") analyzed "China" from every angle, and saw that what they wrote was printed.

The treaties had been running twenty years when public dissatisfaction reached its most pronounced form of expression by pamphlet and address, and two are here reproduced, one by a British subject, the other by a group of Americans, as samples of the whole, and presenting a picture that still remains a true presentment of the China that we know. The first indictment occurs in a pamphlet, entitled *Our Policy in China*, written by A. P. Sinnet, a former editor of the *Hongkong Daily Press*, and published in 1869. Having given some account of the "education" in vogue, the pamphleteer proceeds:

There is the education of China which we are told to respect. What is its civilization? From the boy Emperor, with faculties that those around him have designedly weakened by tempting him almost as a child into sensual excess, down through all the stages of rank to the naked, starving coolie with a life so wretched that he hardly cares to keep it, what do we find? We find a gigantic system of corruption, cowardice and inefficiency; mandarins who buy their places of the Government and extort money by all nefarious means during their term of office; Generals who cheat their soldiers of their pay, and soldiers who plunder the country people whom they are supposed to protect. All through the various ranks of the nation, we find the female population in abject slavery, totally ignorant—for the women in China are not even taught to read and write—herded together in polygamous households, and sometimes bought and sold like sheep.

Unchangeable China remains true to type, for the only alteration necessary in the above paragraph is the elimination of the word "Emperor," for where there was one there are now many.

The commissioning, in the late '60s and early '70s of Mr. Burlingame [discussed elsewhere in these pages] to visit the Courts of Europe as the special Ambassador of the Peking Government did not please the United States Minister, whose representations to Washington, however, met with little sympathy, and who was subsequently recalled. This did not please the American community at Shanghai, and the following address was presented the Minister on the eve of his departure:

Address of the Citizens of the United States, resident in Shanghai, presented to the Hon. J. Ross Browne, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at Peking, on his departure from China.

The true policy of the United States in this country we believe to be one that looks toward the extension of its trade and intercourse with Western nations, and by means of the extension, the raising of China in the scale of civilization.

We claim that China, as she stands, is low in civilization, as she is in wealth and power; that her history teaches us little worth knowing, except maxims of morality long reduced by Western nations to actual practice, but by China neglected and forgotten; that her present state, so far from being an example, is a warning of the result of a false system and a vicious policy.

We claim that the presence of foreigners is a protection and a blessing to the people, that this presence is their only chance of improvement, save through desolating wars; and that in all probability it is at this day the chief cause of the existence of the present Government, and perhaps of any central Government in the country.

We believe that the advancement of China without anarchy and rebellion cannot be had by waiting until her own Government is content to move.

We believe it can only be got by the pressure of Western opinion in forming new terms of treaties, and by the pressure of Western power in sustaining those treaties when formed.

We claim that not only is there a right on the part of Western nations to insist on steps that will further the cause of civilization in China, but a clear duty in that direction.

We believe that, while Western Governments are bound to act a friendly, just and generous part toward China, they cannot forego the advantage of their greater material power.

As China has not arrived at that stage where she will spontaneously accept and firmly discharge her part in the reciprocal obligations of States and advance in a career of discreet progress, the withdrawal of pressure would be disastrous to foreign and native interests, and even threatening to the safety of the State.

We have understood the chief cause of your recall to be that in the conscientious discharge of your duty you find yourself compelled to dissent from the declarations of Mr. Burlingame. We believe, for our part, that the misapprehensions created by Mr. Burlingame's mission tend to dangerous issues and complications. We are, many of us, Mr. Burlingame's friends. We supported and rejoiced in the mission when we had reason to believe that it was in the interests of progress, and that its members would further those interests by representing to the Western world the true state of China, and how she could best be raised and started in a new career.

We were surprised and disappointed when we found it only used to represent China as an example of strength, goodness and wisdom; to give the impression that she had abandoned her old pretenses to superiority and with an eager desire for improvement, was ready to press forward upon the path of reform; that she needed no other inducement to improve than her own moral instinct; that all pressure, even moral pressure, was a wrong and a mistake, and that, in fact, the nations of the West had more to learn than to teach in their intercourse with this so-called polite and intellectual people of the East!

We are deeply interested in the promotion of the peaceful development of China, and in its maintenance of harmonious relations, and we may presume that our direct and intimate acquaintance with the empire renders us not altogether untrustworthy witnesses. As such, we do not hesitate to express our opinions, and we believe that time will justify our conclusions.

This strongly worded letter was written in 1869, and who will say that the condition of China has one whit improved in the intervening years! Railways? Yes! Railways ruined by the movements of military bandits. Telegraphs? Yes! Even diplomatic messages are tapped and given to the

newspapers. China remains unchangeable. Indictments such as these are to all intents and purposes current history, for conditions are in nowise changed. There never was, nor is there today, a national opinion, a condition due then as now to illiteracy and absence of communications. Each community throughout the vast empire is compact and self-supporting, and governed by the family law, which the people instinctively obey. The isolation of the community has had a great effect upon China's foreign relations. Whenever an "incident" occurred, involving foreigners, it was and is prejudicial to a satisfactory ending that a prompt settlement cannot be made on the spot. Reference to Peking is fatal, for the foreign Government concerned becomes involved, and months may be spent in negotiations, the delay being all to the benefit of the lawbreakers. In the pamphlet referred to above, Mr. Sinnett made out a strong case for negotiation and settlement on the spot, giving an example of Chinese psychology, the accuracy of which will be generally recognized by all who have had to do with the Oriental in his native habitat:

In China life is so little regarded, or justice to individuals so little cared for, that personal outrages against native subjects who, from pre-eminence in wealth, or from any reason, become obnoxious to, or are objects of envy of, the mandarin in their neighborhood, are matters of common occurrence. What is it that protects the foreigner from the cupidity of local officials? Nothing else, of course, but the obvious and immediate danger of meddling with foreigners while foreign men-of-war are perpetually cruising about, ready at any moment to avenge an outrage on their countrymen. Nothing but an immediate danger can be grasped by the Chinese official. The remote chance of involving his Government in a foreign war six months hence is beyond the reach of his imagination. This was most remarkably illustrated by recent events in connection with the Yangchow affair. Mr. Medhurst was negotiating this matter at Nanking, with the Rinaldo lying in the river. The Viceroy agreed to all his demands. The Rinaldo was withdrawn a day or two too soon, and the Viceroy, seeing the immediate danger removed, retracted all his promises. A European would say he must have known that the absent vessel, or other men-of-war, could return, that the power of the British Consul to enforce his demands could only be delayed a few days by the inopportune departure of the steamer. That, however, which a Chinese mandarin "must know," or, in other words, is capable of realizing, cannot be measured by appeal to a European standard. The only power which can influence him in practice is that which he can see with his eyes.

The work of publicists issued in these early days, if reprinted today, would apply with startling force to conditions as they actually exist in the Middle Kingdom of the Universe. The Chinese apparently ceased to learn, to invent, some thousands of years ago. The old hauteur and sublime conceit of themselves have received many



knocks in the past hundred years, but the old antipathy, arising from several causes, remains unchanged, as foreigners will find to their cost should they ever so far forget their rights and their dearly bought heritage as to surrender their present position, ensuring only tolerable security against the cupidity of the official and the blind rage of the untutored masses.

The revolution of 1911-12 encouraged many a well-wisher of the Chinese people (and who is not?) to hope that a new and better era had truly dawned. Americans particularly were animated by a new hope, saw a new flowering of the republican spirit, a replica of their own great creation. Nor are many Americans yet convinced of the hopelessness of this early dream. Much that is characteristic of their idealism was contained in a small volume, entitled *Emergency in China* and printed for an American missionary society. This was published in 1913, and was written during the exciting days when the new régime was taking shape by a well-known student of Chinese affairs, F. L. Pott of Shanghai, who expressed this belief, shared by many: "Owing to the steady impact of the West upon the East, there has been born a national consciousness previously non-existent. China for the Chinese has become a great ideal which powerfully stirs the hearts of the masses in China." The ideal translated into action, however, is something quite different from what one would expect, as Mr. Pott relates further in his book, unconscious, apparently, of the fact that the one cancels the other. Under the head "Lack of Discipline" he writes:

Intoxicated by the new ideas in regard to liberty and self-government, the student class has been noted for turbulence and unruliness. Sometimes they have attempted to organize schools on a republican basis, and to place the authority in the hands of the students. . . . Thus, we find them dictating what and how they shall be taught, and what the discipline of the school shall be. Whenever they fancied they had a grievance, a mass meeting would be held, at which hot-headed orators would hold forth. Then a strike would be declared, and the students would threaten to leave the institution, or refuse to attend classes until the authorities yielded to their wishes. The director of the school, generally some Chinese official ignorant of educational matters, and only holding his position until something better turned up, would be seized with consternation. The one thing he feared was trouble in the school, because that meant his dismissal from office and the ruin of his official career. Hence he generally gave in. We heard of one school where republican principles were carried so far that the teachers received demerits from the students, and the demerits were posted on a public bulletin board!

This is a picture in miniature of the China of today—those parts, that is, where

the soldiery and the student element, plus the new Russian-created "labor unions," spread rapine and disorder, and drive away all foreigners by outrageous demands; infuriate the mob, and by threat and imprecation extort the funds from the merchant class by which only can they continue to maintain the new order, for all trade, in their area, is at a standstill.

#### MARTYR MISSIONARIES

Under the new régime, Mr. Pott was convinced there would be no such barbarities as have resulted repeatedly in the past in the martyrdom of the heads of mission hospitals, but at Foochow, only a few months ago, the Spanish fathers and nuns of a mission hospital had to flee, and owe their lives to the fortunate fact that a gunboat was in the harbor, American by chance. In this instance the traditional story was told to excite the mob—the exhibition of bodies of infants, which the foreigners were charged with killing and using for evil medical purposes. It is the "student," the young man receiving a semi-foreign education, egged on by the new Russian element which has secured a surprising hold on the Cantonese, who is responsible for such outrages.

The experience of the Spanish missionaries brings to mind an aspect of Chinese life which must not be overlooked, since it is a prime cause of Chinese degradation—their inhumanity and their treatment of the female. Mr. Pott, whose optimism has been noted, is in turn a critic of the optimistic doubts of a newly come missionary who could not be brought to believe that the practice of drowning female infants still persisted, and tells the story of how the missionary was "converted." An old woman was encountered near a foundling hospital in Shanghai. She had a bundle in her arms, and the foreigner thinking it to be a newborn infant, offered her 10 cents for it. Gladly it was surrendered, and the woman promised to secure hundreds more at the same price. Nothing was less intelligible to the high-bred mandarin of the early days than the desire of foreign females to be introduced to him. Out of this truly Oriental attitude of contempt toward the female of the species have grown many great evils—slavery, foot-binding and infanticide in China, a common traffic in human flesh, an inhumanity that is inconceivable until it is actually seen, and the degradation of the nation itself.

Life in China is apparently worthless; the evidence of this is seen on every hand, and is a commonplace of the news columns

of the English-language press. The humanitarian feeling of Western nations is richly expressed throughout the vast republic, but our combined efforts are but a trickle in the turgid flow of Chinese life, and their beneficial effects on the life and thought of a remarkable people it were hard to speak. In the robust language of the Bible, the Oriental is wanting in "bowels of compassion;" he faces torture and death with complete indifference, and the spectacle of pain and suffering in man and beasts of burden seems inseparable from daily life.

The best element in the republic, unfortunately not the strongest, has never quarreled with the foreigner. Left alone, the merchant would pursue his peaceful activities to the high advantage of his

country, welcoming all comers, and most particularly the elymosynary institutions conducted under foreign auspices, whose directors and staffs are now being driven forth, abandoning the work of years. The quarrels between China and the rest of the world have never been commercial; not even the so-called opium wars were caused by the import of the now hated drug, but grew out of the cupidity of the mandarin, envious of the new prosperity of the merchant. Great causes have never provoked war in China; moral causes have never been an issue. Let our Governments not forget the significant facts of history in their present disposition to give way to extraordinary demands and in their future policy toward China, let them take to heart and be guided by the lessons of the past.

## XII.—The Student Movement

By PAUL CHIH MENG

GENERAL SECRETARY, CHINESE STUDENTS' CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION IN NORTH AMERICA

**T**HOUGH Chinese explorers penetrated India and Malaysia as early as the Han Dynasty, Chinese students did not pay any serious attention to the cultures of foreign nations till the latter part of the nineteenth century. The defeat China suffered in the opium war not only broke her commercial and political isolation, but also disturbed her intellectual complacency and aroused the curiosity of her scholars toward Occidental civilization. Chinese students went to see England, the first Western nation that invaded her, soon after 1842. Incidentally, an American missionary brought three young Chinese boys to America in 1847 to be educated.

During the latter part of the nineteenth century the rise of Western Europe occupied the entire attention of Chinese intellectuals. China was not able to resist the invasions of those newer nations. Those who had seen Western Europe had reported their findings, though in vague terms. The navy of Great Britain, the army of France, the Franco-Prussian war and the unification of Italy were the subjects for discussion of the returned students of this period. In 1876 the Chinese Government sent a commission of students to England and France to study modern army and navy methods. Another commission of students reached England in

1886 to be trained in the arsenals and ship-building works. The victor of the Franco-Prussian war attracted the attention of the army students of the time, and by 1893 there were more Chinese students in Germany than there were in England and France added together.

Till about 1895 the returned students were chiefly from Western Europe. The educational mission founded by Yung Wing in America in 1872 was recalled by the Government in 1881 and ended in failure. Though the returned students made some observations on European culture in general their chief interest was in navy and army methods. They were able to arouse enthusiasm in China for preparedness and to bring about striking reforms in her national defense. The British navy was imitated and the French and Prussian military training manuals were in turn adopted by the Chinese army without modifications. Had not the Empress Dowager chosen to use the naval appropriation, which amounted to 265,000,000 taels, Japan might not have defeated China so easily in 1895.

Japan rose as a world power, as it were, overnight. She scored a decisive victory over China in 1895, and only ten years later defeated Russia, a recognized European Power. China had by this time almost lost



confidence in herself completely. The success of Japan inspired her and gave her fresh courage. This small island empire was of the same race and similar culture as China. What Japan did China could do.

By 1905 there were at least 20,000 Chinese students in Japan. They were apparently overwhelmed by the thorough transformation of this once Oriental nation. They found that Japan's strength was not merely in her modern army and navy, but also in her political and educational reforms. These students wrote and translated voluminously. The books and pamphlets they published were warmly received and eagerly read by the Chinese people. During the years from 1895 to 1906 the atmosphere in China was electric with faith and hope in the second-hand Western theories and systems from Japan, and the rapidity with which these "panaceas" were applied was most phenomenal. Newspapers, magazines, public lecture halls and reading rooms and Japanese styled schools sprang up quickly by the hundreds even in small towns and villages. The enthusiasm for reform and the high hopes of salvation aroused by the returned students from Japan during this period were without parallel with the exception, perhaps, of those aroused by the Nationalist movement. Japan's example was slavishly followed. Western methods and systems were adopted wholesale. For some time it appeared as if the Western panaceas might rejuvenate China. Unfortunately, intrigue within the reigning Manchu family thwarted this promising national revival. The tragedy of Wu-hsü (1898) marked the end of reform through a constitutional monarchy.

Chinese students began to come to America in small numbers in 1900. Two things happened that directed the main current of Chinese student migration to America. In 1906 the legal definition of a student was made more liberal by the United States Government, and in 1908 the return to China of the surplus Boxer indemnity enabled China to send Chinese students to study in American colleges and universities.

The tragedy of Wu-hsü and the stubbornness and stupidity of the Manchu Government as evidenced by the Boxer uprising convinced the students of the hopelessness of putting new wine in old bottles. Secret revolutionary societies were formed in Japan, America and Europe. Returned students from Japan and America took the leading part in overthrowing the Manchu régime in 1911.

The open-door policy postponed the danger of China's being partitioned and gave

pause to the students to think, while the establishment of the Republic of China broadened their intellectual outlook. They began to see that a republic called for the solution of many problems and that each required specialized training. Moreover, the removal of the Manchu Government gave rise to new hopes and rekindled their enthusiasm after a period of depression that followed the allied invasion of Peking. From 1912 to 1924 the contributions of returned students were most numerous and significant, the best-known among them being the creation of a new school system, judicial reform, the New Thought tide (the Chinese Renaissance), the mass education movement and the consolidation of the Nationalist Party.

#### PROBLEMS OF THE REPUBLIC

At present there are approximately 8,000 Chinese students studying abroad. Over 2,500 are in the United States; Japan and France each has about 2,000; about 500 are in Germany, 200 in the British Isles and 650 in Russia. They are taking more than forty-nine different courses of study; 71 per cent. are studying engineering, applied sciences and the professions; 6 per cent. academic courses and pure sciences, and 23 per cent. the social sciences.

While studying abroad the Chinese students formed a number of organizations. Some of these organizations have developed into movements of significance in China. *The Tung Mung Hui* and the "Dare-to-Die Corps" among Chinese students in America and Japan led the revolution in 1911. The *Etudiants-Ouvriers Chinois en France* (Chinese student-workers in France) helped to bring Chinese students of small means to France. The discussion societies have facilitated the exchange of ideas and the application of theories to concrete Chinese problems. The New Thought tide was discussed among a few students at Cornell University in America, while the mass education movement resulted from an experiment conducted by Chinese students in France during the Great War. More recently organizations have sprung up according to political and economic leanings of the members, such as the three Nationalist associations in America and the communistic societies in France, Germany and Russia. National organizations are found among Chinese students in Great Britain and the United States. They are the Chinese Students' Central Union of Great Britain, the Chinese Students' Christian Union of Great Britain and Ireland, the Chinese Students'

Alliance of the United States and the Chinese Students' Christian Association in North America. These organizations publish periodicals that are widely read both in China and abroad. Among the Chinese students in the United States there are, in addition to the two national organizations, about twenty professional societies, fifteen social clubs and ten fraternities and sororities.

Whether returned students are still needed in China has been a popular subject for discussion. Some ventured the opinion that the returned students usually import only Western mannerisms and superficialities. Those who studied in France have brought the swinging limbs, shrugging shoulders and a few pleasant vices. Those from Germany introduced the beer, the military bearing and the close-cropped hair. England has given them, though not the monocle, the broad "a" and the aristocratic air. Returned students from America are most noisy with campaign ideas, challenges and slogans. Their American "speed" is mere nervousness, while their feminism does not go beyond bobbed hair, short skirts and the new dance steps.

But in history, the Chinese student migration has influenced China's national life in various ways during various periods. It brought the influence of Western Europe immediately after the opium war until the

Sino-Japanese War. From the rise of Japan to the revolution of 1911, Japan's modernization and reforms influenced China through the returned students. America's expressions of friendship as evidenced in the open-door policy of John Hay and the return of the indemnity surplus in 1908, have attracted a large number of Chinese students each year for the last twenty-five years. Since the Republic of China was formed, returned students from the United States have become the most influential group in the different fields of China's national life. In 1924, Soviet Russia renounced her special privileges in China and raised with Chinese students the question of an industrial revolution to emancipate the oppressed nations and peoples of the Orient. With the founding of the Sun Yat-sen University in Moscow, the number of Chinese students has tripled since 1925. Whether Russia will displace America in cultural influence in China depends upon whether America will make good the ideal of political self-determination which she imparted to the Chinese students.

The Chinese student migration, therefore, has stimulated reforms, helped in the making of a new China, and, above all, it has brought to China new cultural elements that made possible creative thinking, social progress, an enlarged outlook and national and racial consciousness.

## XIII.—The Progress of Christianity

By EDWARD H. HUME

PRESIDENT, YALE-IN-CHINA

IN the midst of such a truly revolutionary movement as is now going on in every aspect of the social life of China, it would be impossible that the missionary movement should escape criticism and questioning. The critical situation lies not in the fact that many missionaries have been urged by their consular officers to leave their stations for the moment, nor in the attacks on physical property that have been given so much attention in the daily press. The crisis of the moment will be found in the attitude of the missionaries themselves as they face their future relationships to the work they have helped to build up and in the ability of the enterprises thus launched to continue to func-

tion vitally when the tutelage of the missionary has been reduced or completely withdrawn.

Years ago, when the missionary movement was launched in China, there was no national consciousness. The individual was loyal, as his forbears had been, to the family, the clan, the village. Of provincial loyalties he knew but little, of national loyalty, nothing. There was no national flag to salute, no teaching of patriotic lessons in the schools, no national songs to unite the hearts of the people. Today the picture is wholly changed. Not only is the student population and the group of intellectuals all over the land fired by a new national spirit, which is as flaming as a



religious passion ever was in the days of the Crusades, but this new nationalism has become critical of every individual, of every movement that gives indication of trying to introduce and to "put over" foreign control. To many, Christian missions have been brought in by men and women of the very nations that have occupied Chinese territory, laid down unilateral treaty arrangements. Many of these missionaries have been exempt from the taxes and the laws of China. They have been protected by "toleration clauses" in the treaties. Against all this, new China rebels. Christian missions are "the vanguard of imperialism," the propagandist cries. And he calls on loyal patriots to regain the control of Christian education, that is already nearly lost.

Again, the Christian movement in China is facing today a great tide of rationalism. Laotze, one of the earliest Chinese philosophers, taught over two thousand years ago a naturalistic conception of the universe. Confucius was an agnostic. Upon this old philosophic foundation of China there is now being built up a structure of rationalism, introduced from some of the very Western nations that have brought Christianity to China. "Christianity is a refuge for the feeble-minded, a soothing syrup for the aged and infirm, something diametrically opposed to the teachings of modern sciences, an outworn superstition"—such are some of the challenging utterances of those who attack the Christian movement today.

Furthermore, with the ruthless questioning of all the old foundations of China's heritage, cultural, religious and social, there has arisen a severe analysis of the missionary and his message. "Does he bring us merely a mass of dogma, the accretion of centuries of Western theological thought? Or is his contribution merely one of social reform and philanthropic activity, evidenced by the building of schools and hospitals, of agricultural experiment stations and institutions for the deaf and dumb? Or is he truly an interpreter of the spirit and life of Jesus?" These questions are heard everywhere.

Now, Christianity has never needed favoring conditions to insure its vitality. It has survived persecution and proscription and many of its greatest leaders have emerged during periods of oppression. Looking back over the history of Christian missions in China, we find that it became first rooted there in the seventh century, only to disappear in the ninth; again got a foothold in the thirteenth century, once more

to be cast out in the fourteenth. After nearly two hundred years of active work, the Emperor Yung Chen issued, in 1724, an edict proscribing Christianity throughout the land. What lessons do these earlier experiences have for us today? What causes threatened the movement in these earlier approaches? After some two hundred years of activity, the work of the early Nestorian Christians came to an end in persecution. Many theories are given to account for its disappearance, but the most likely appears to be summed up in the word compromise. The Christian movement was engulfed by Mohammedans and Buddhists and the Nestorian tablet itself shows a strange tendency to confuse Christianity with Buddhism and Taoism, the emblems of each religion appearing on the monument. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the work of the Catholic missionaries appears to have lost its vitality for two reasons: one, because it could not survive the expulsion of the Mongol and the setting up of the Ming dynasty; the other, because of the extreme foreignism of the early Franciscans, their teaching in Latin and their emphasis on European liturgies and practices, without entrusting any power to Chinese workers, being associated in the Chinese mind with the detested rule of the former Mongol usurpers.

The danger that befell the Christian movement in the eighteenth century arose not alone out of the Rites Controversy, when various Roman Catholic orders found it impossible to agree as to how far they should accommodate themselves to Chinese customs and beliefs, but also out of a decrease in the missionary activity of the Church itself in Europe and to political conditions in Europe during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Perhaps the most potent reason for the weakening of the Christian movement lay in the anger of the Emperor Kang Hsi at what appeared to him the defiant and rebellious attitude of the priests whom but a little while earlier he had received with such acclaim and endorsement.

#### OBSTACLES TO PROGRESS

Compromise, foreignism, Church dissension, opposition from the State on the ground of rebellion—all these reasons for hindered progress lie open before us. They are not unique in China. Even during the life of Jesus, some of these charges were made against Him or His first followers. To some extent it may be urged that these factors are present in the situation today.

Certainly no note is more often struck by Chinese Christians than this, that a large part of the anti-Christian demonstration of the present moment grows out of a conviction that the religion is foreign in spirit and direction. Certain it is that at this time of psychological conflict, many Chinese Christians believe that the deep rooting of the Christian movement will be in proportion to its ability to divest itself of its foreign accretions and manifestations. The cause of the crisis lies deeper than in foreignism alone. They are to be found partly in the political associations of Christianity, partly in the economic issues involved, partly in the swelling tide of rationalism sweeping over China and, above all, in the new national consciousness which is both assertive and forgetful of aid rendered from without. We do well to turn our attention from an analysis of causes to a review of the present facts of Protestant Christianity.

We find, then, that from all over China word comes of the continued friendliness of the people to Christianity and its representatives. Gentry and students, farmers and laborers, have shown their friendship in unusual ways during these past six months of stress and confusion. A notable example was the spirit of the girls at Ginling College on March 24 last, the day when Dr. John Williams lost his life, as they took matters into their own hands, hiding their teachers, advising them as to steps necessary, escorting them out of danger and in every other way proving their loyalty. Similarly striking was the friendliness of the people around the grounds of West China Union University in Chengtu, where British, Canadian and American forces cooperate. Food was smuggled in by night when a boycott was in force and friends suggested means for escape and aided in other ways to bring about a resumption of the normal work of the institution. There is no single thing on which the evidence is so unanimous as on the desire of the people that their Western friends should continue among them.

In the second place, China has learned that Christianity has been a tremendous force in the land, for social as well as individual regeneration. The head of one of our Western universities, when in China a few months ago, took occasion to make personal inquiry as to the work and influence of the missionaries and was told that no important social reform had been started in China during the past half century except by missionaries or by those who had re-

ceived their training and impulse from missionaries. While the present era of criticism and skepticism has brought much severe attack on things Christian—as on things Buddhist and things Confucian—based on the assumption that it is intimately bound up with the imperialistic designs of the Powers and on a new rationalism that ignores religion or regards it as a narcotic for the human mind, a superstition soon to be wholly replaced by science, there are to be found in China deepening spiritual aspirations that recognize the need of the soul for things other than material. There have grown up in these recent years such bodies as "The Association for the Purifying of the Heart," "The Hall of Self-Examination," and other similar groups, all of which but express the need for individual regeneration and social transformation. Almost without exception such movements are outgrowths of intimate contact with Christian missionaries or with spiritually-minded Chinese Christians.

#### GOVERNMENT PROTECTION

In the third place, the day has long since passed when the Western missionary's position could remain dependent on protection by the Government of his own country. Many missionaries today feel that their spiritual opportunity increases in proportion to their withdrawal from dependence upon foreign gunboats and other signs of force. Chinese Christians frankly say that as things are today it is difficult to dissociate the missionary who clings to the protection of his home Government from other evidences of what is called the Western imperialistic attitude.

Again, the Bible is translated so thoroughly that it is available everywhere, both in the standard dialects and in Cantonese and other local dialects. The Bible societies assert that Christianity has never died out in any land where the Bible has been widely available to the people in their own tongue.

Once more an increasing number of Chinese clergy are receiving adequate training for their tasks. This is a field in which the Roman Catholic Church has made major emphasis, most of their higher education being concentrated on the preparation of candidates for holy orders. On the whole the Roman Catholic clergy have had a longer and more exacting preparation than any but a few of the Protestant clergy. This attention to the building up of a qualified indigenous clergy is one of the basic needs of the day.



In the next place, there is, today, in China a great body of believing, witnessing Christians. These men and women, who have come deeply and consciously into an abiding Christian fellowship, are witnessing, have witnessed, frequently, at the risk of their lives. Great as the number was of those Chinese Christians who, during the Boxer rebellion, laid down their lives without hesitation when put to the ultimate test, the number of loyal believers today is very much greater than it was twenty-seven years ago. Not only has the number of dependable Christians, both men and women, increased greatly, but there are many more today who appreciate that the foundation of Christian experience lies in personal fellowship with Christ. As the day draws near when missionaries from the West shall have diminished administrative powers, and the Chinese church takes charge of all forms of Christian activity, there is found a shrinking from responsibility for the large, often cumbersome, physical plants and material organization that the Western worker has introduced, and a greater desire to get at the heart of the Christian experience. "Not the philanthropies that the Christian missionaries set up in our midst," says the thoughtful Chinese Christian leader, "but an understanding of the person and spirit of Jesus," are what are called for.

Finally, there is present today the beginning of a conscious movement toward the building up of a truly Chinese church. Recently a Chinese Christian wrote that, although Christianity had been in China over a hundred years, there existed as yet no real Chinese church. He went on to show that while in the past, because of polity emphasized by the Western religious workers, as well as forms of worship and points of view that were foreign, the Christian movement had not become rooted in the heart of the people, there was today a consciousness that genuine constructive work must be done in building up, out of Chinese materials, the new church of China. A great craving for the union of Christian churches exists in many areas and far less is said than formerly about denominational differences introduced from the West. The organization in Kwangtung and other provinces of what is now called "the Chinese Christian Church," in which both foreigners and Chinese become members, is an encouraging sign of the process now going forward. That this new movement is deeply rooted in Christian experience is evidenced by the growth of a genuine home mission-

ary activity, with work under way in Yunnan and Manchuria, with plans for extension to Mongolia. Furthermore, the determination to provide a vital Christian literature for the new day and to adapt to Christian needs some of the basic religious practices of China, as, for instance, ancestral worship, certain of the festival celebrations, give evidence of an attempt to make Christianity become rooted in the soil and decreasingly regarded as a foreign introduction.

#### CHANGED CHURCH RELATIONS

To sum up, while great changes are evident in the relationship between Western missionaries and the Chinese church, two things are conspicuous in the new movements of today: a desire to start in, as from a new beginning, with constructive endeavor toward a Chinese Christian movement, fitted to the environment of China; and a determination that not organization nor even philanthropies shall be the sign of this movement, but a conscious understanding and following of Christ's way of life.

With these signs of a new day spread out before us, what is to be the future of the missionary himself? Bishop Roots has recognized clearly, in the 1926 issue of the China Christian Year Book, that his function is definitely changing. He reminds us of a conference of Chinese and foreign Christians at Shanghai early in 1926, where it was fully agreed that, although missionaries of the highest spiritual and intellectual qualities were more than ever needed in China, they would have to be willing loyally to serve under Chinese administrative control, to accept responsibility for such tasks—and only such tasks—as the Chinese church might assign, to be eager to yield administrative positions even more rapidly than the Chinese might ask for such change, and, finally, that they would have to minimize official status and seek, above all, to show a passion for friendship and personal service.

I feel, as I look ahead, that the missionary of the coming days will be less and less one who seeks merely to engage in visible activities. He will do less medical work and less educational work than hitherto. Many of these earlier and important functions will be taken over by Chinese bodies, religious and otherwise. He will find his largest service in the field of spiritual interpretation, as counselor, spiritual guide, cooperating in all things—a servant and auxiliary of the Chinese Christian worker.

He will seek, also, for those interpretations of Christ and the Christian message that will express China's own contribution to an enrichment of the understanding of Christianity.

The missionary task of the coming days will be richer and more satisfying than in the past century. It will find its largest opportunity, not in directing new enterprises, nor in the pioneer work which was its glory decades ago, but in endeavoring to bring about a conception of Christianity as a spiritual force, to be used in the regeneration of individual life and social activity. The missionary societies of the West will become, in increasing measure, bodies that act as auxiliaries to the Christian organizations that grow up in China, and their representatives will go to join, with Chinese Christian workers, in a common quest for God. The West has many

things to learn from China about the inner message of Jesus. China's own long-continued emphasis, for example, on the filial relationship, is sure to enable the Chinese Christian philosopher to enrich the teachings of Jesus regarding the Fatherhood of God and his relationship to the human family. The missionary who goes to share in Christian construction and to seek deeper religious values for all Christendom will be increasingly potent, increasingly welcomed.

As the possibility of international strain in the Pacific area increases, there is a pressing need that within the Christian movement there shall be found a great rallying point of international fellowship and cooperation, of genuine spiritual understanding. Here lies the great opportunity for Christian missions in China in the days ahead.

## XIV.—The Distrust of Missionaries

By LEWIS S. GANNETT

ASSOCIATE EDITOR OF *The Nation*; AUTHOR OF *Young China*

THERE are—or there were very recently—some 8,000 Protestant and 1,500 Catholic missionaries in China, of whom well above half came from the United States and Canada. They were scattered in nearly 2,000 mission stations, a score at least in every province of China. They maintained churches, schools, colleges, hospitals; the American Protestant investment alone totaled \$80,000,000 and the Americans spent more than \$10,000,000 a year; the Protestants ministered to nearly a million converts and in their 7,000 schools they taught 300,000 Chinese children. There was undoubtedly the greatest international propaganda undertaking in the history of mankind—the best financed, the best equipped, the most heavily and efficiently staffed, the most altruistic—and today it seems in danger of extinction. Why? Primarily, because it is a foreign movement, and China today is passionately and intolerantly nationalistic. She identifies the missionary with the foreign gunboat in her inland waters, and she resents both.

"Occasional mobbings of missionaries," Professor E. A. Ross of Wisconsin University wrote sixteen years ago, "are in part explosions of anti-foreign feeling generated

in this most patient of peoples by opium wars, the enforced opium trade, the compulsory opening of ports, extraterritoriality, high-handed seizures of territory, and like buffets to national pride inflicted by the first of the Western Powers. The missionary \* \* \* as the nearest foreigner receives the lightning stroke." In 1927 the missionary is still the nearest foreigner and he has again received the lightning stroke. More than half the missionaries in China are reported to have left their posts—most of them because of consular urging—and a few stayed long enough to see their homes burned and their churches occupied as barracks. One of the best of them is dead.

More than half the missionaries in China today are Americans. Largely they have expressed America to China. They are of all sorts. Fundamentalists and Modernists, Catholics, Lutherans, Congregationalists, Methodists, Northern and Southern Baptists and Presbyterians, Adventists and Quakers. A few of them still wear queues, which modern Chinese have abandoned, in an effort to make their preaching seem less alien to the masses. Some of them go out after years of specialized preparation, others arrive in Shanghai with hardly a



dollar in their pockets and no knowledge of the Chinese language, trusting that God will miraculously provide them with all they need including the gift of tongues. Some of them think of Christianity in terms of the tight little creeds and catechisms they learned in their village homes, others are medical workers who have forgotten creed in healing, teachers who are so absorbed in China that they remember America only when they have to ask for funds, community leaders who belong to the kinship of Jane Addams and Lillian Wald, and thinkers who have climbed high above the walls of any single religion. I never met an Elmer Gantry, but there must be such among them. I met in China cousins of the parson-hero of *Rain*, as well, of course, as men with whom I was proud to shake hands. It is almost as dangerous to generalize about missionaries as about the Chinese.

Yet in virtually all of them inevitably there is a certain inner arrogance. They could not be in China as missionaries if they did not feel that they had something to teach the Chinese which is better than anything the Chinese know. In the best of them this inner arrogance translates itself into a desire to serve; in the worst of them it becomes the intolerable vulgarity of the man who will rush into the dim light of a beautiful old Buddhist temple and in his barbarous alien Chinese denounce loudly the superstitions of those who worship there, or will deem it an act of grace to smash the heathen idols in a Taoist shrine. In any case the sensitive Chinese is likely to be conscious of it and in time of intense national consciousness to resent it.

China is not in the Western sense a political unit; the loyalty of Chinese has not been to the State conceived as a group of individuals engaged in administration. Their loyalty is rather to a civilization and a culture. The national self-consciousness which is aware of the degradation of the unequal treaties is a modern arrival in China, largely a product of the Western spirit against which it reacts. But the Chinese, who a half century ago felt no sense of degradation in hiring himself out to a foreign Power engaged in fighting against his own Government, has never relinquished his intense loyalty to the ancient traditions of his people. The man who attacked ancestor worship and endeavored to substitute for it a foreign system of religion might well seem to him more dangerous than the man who sought to overthrow his Government, the missionary a greater menace than the captain of a hostile armada. The point of view of T'ang Leang-

li, author of *China in Revolt*, is, perhaps, a natural development.

"There is no group of foreigners," he says, "who have done more harm to China than the modern missionaries, either directly or indirectly. It is in connection with their subversive activities that China has lost the greater part of her dependencies. By their teachings they have denationalized hundreds of thousands of Chinese converts and have thus been instrumental to a great extent in disintegrating not only the body but also the spirit of the nation. Indirectly by their misrepresentations they have made the civilization of China grievously misunderstood in the West and are therefore largely responsible for the loss of prestige which China has suffered for nearly a century."

#### LAWLESS ACTS

Mr. T'ang may exaggerate but no thoughtful missionary will deny that a stain of blood and lawlessness lies upon the Christian missions in China. The first American missionaries went to China as the illegal guests of a trading firm, when China still sought by law to exclude such immigrants; and missionaries were the dominant advisers of Caleb Cushing when in 1844 he, with the aid of his missionary interpreters, drew up the treaty which laid the basis of the extraterritorial system against which the Chinese complain so bitterly today. Missionaries again participated in drawing up the treaty which followed the second opium war in 1858, when the so-called "toleration clauses," forcing China to tolerate Christianity, were insisted upon; and one of the pettiest examples of diplomatic skulduggery on record is the manner in which the French sneaked into the text of their treaty that year (unknown to the unsuspecting Chinese) an additional clause permitting French missionaries to lease or buy land and build houses in any of the provinces. Missionaries were used in manoeuvring the French annexation of Annam in the '80s, and as recently as 1897 the death of two German missionaries in Shantung was used as the official excuse for the great international grab game which ended with Germany in possession of Kiaochow, Russia of Port Arthur and Dalny, Great Britain of Wei-hai-wei and the Kowloon New Territory, and France of Kwang-chow-wan.

Missionaries have claimed the protection of their consuls and gunboats for their converts as well as for themselves; our own Sino-American treaty of 1903 formally stipulates—curious provision in a treaty with a foreign country—that Chinese Christians

shall not be required to pay taxes for the support of other religions. Protection of Christian converts, indeed, came to seem so obvious a part of the technique of imperialism a quarter century ago that Japan, before its recent change of heart, sought to obtain the same special privileges for Buddhist missionaries as were enjoyed by Christians, and the same implied right to intervene in behalf of Chinese converts. Mr. Uchida insisted in 1905 that "our Buddhist missionaries coming to China to promulgate the teaching of Buddha should enjoy the same protection as Christian missionaries. Hereafter, if our Buddhist priests, the Chinese subjects who shall have taken up their faith, and their temples should be disturbed or injured, the Chinese Government should recognize its obligation severely to repress the disorder." And in 1915, as a part of those Twenty-one Demands which were the high-water mark of imperialism in China, Japan again attempted to become by treaty the patron of Buddhism in China and thus win for herself the position which the various alien patrons of Christianity had established for themselves.

These things are not typical of the missionary movement, but they are a part of the historical load which the modern missionary has to carry. It is not his fault, but it is his heritage and burden—along with the burden of resentment against the foreign business man which the missionary has to share. The red-hot days of the last two years have forced upon the missionaries a new consideration of their political position in China, and most of the leaders—particularly of the American mission groups—have come out definitely for a divorce between missionaries and gunboats and gunboat treaties. Their job, they say, is to preach Christ and practice Christianity, and they cannot be successful if their position is inherently dependent upon unilateral treaties unwillingly accepted by the people whom they seek to convert. Particularly the Peking missionaries brought down upon their heads the violent abuse of the treaty-port press when they proclaimed their sympathy with the Chinese demands for national autonomy. Many a missionary has been ostracized by his own countrymen because he sided with the Chinese. Not all the missionaries, of course, sympathize with the nationalist movement, and some of the opposition voices which were drowned out a few months ago have found new courage since the Nanking tragedy of March 24.

But it is not, I think, the political record which counts most against the missionaries

today. Only a few Chinese know the details of missionary connection with the old treaties and annexations, and while it is that few who write the books explaining the new anti-Christian movement, the masses act in response to simpler stimuli. Every coolie in China knows that the white man is, or has been, a privileged person in the yellow man's country, and he resents it. When civil war stops Chinese trade and commerce the white man's warships convoy his commercial ships through the trouble zones. When there is danger the warships come to save the white man, and the yellow man has to stay. When there is a conflict the white man takes his case to his own Consul. The best parts of the biggest cities are ruled by white men; the customs and postal services are under their charge; they own the biggest banks and direct the biggest businesses. The coolie does not stop to question the origin of these differences; he simply knows that no white man ever gets kicked about as he does. To him all white men look alike, and in many cities and villages the missionaries are the only white men. When an overwhelming sense of bitterness at the fate which has given white men these privileges in the yellow man's country swells up in a mass movement, the missionaries suffer along with the Standard Oil officials and the tobacco agents—indeed, because there are more missionaries out of range of the big guns, they suffer more.

#### A DENATIONALIZING INFLUENCE

Try as he will, the foreign missionary cannot cease to be foreign. There are American men and women in China who are attempting to bridge the gap, trying to live on the simple rice diet which keeps Chinese alive. But it is harder than any one who has not seen the poverty of the Chinese masses can imagine; the American is not born to it. The foreign missionary expects to be better paid than his Chinese colleagues. He keeps servants; his children romp in relatively clean, neatly darned clothes on the grass behind the high walls of the "compound"—and the most passionately egalitarian missionary mother will have a prejudice against allowing her children to play with the dirty, disease-ridden gamins who swarm in the grassless streets outside the compound walls. He is, whether aware of it or not, a missionary of Western clothes and manners, of Western standards of living as well as of the gospel of Jesus. As John Earl Baker put it in an address to the Tientsin Missionary Association: "The



missionary home in the interior is a demonstration of Western life with the comforts and all the means the Westerner has used to give himself comfort. Were the merchant deliberately to make a great advertising campaign for the purpose of putting up a demonstration of Western materials in the interior for sales purposes he could not put up any better display than the missionary has done gratis." The missionary is, in other words, an unconsciously denationalizing influence.

We are all pretty blindly nationalist. To us foot-binding is one of the most cruel of vices. The modern Chinese does not bind his women's feet, but he does not look upon foot-binding as we do. "How," he asks, "is it worse than the waist binding and the corsetry in which you so recently indulged?" If an American thinks the Chinese custom of putting food on an ancestor's grave absurd because dead men cannot eat, the Chinese asks whether dead men can smell the flowers we put there. Respect paid to the simple wooden tablets of his ancestors seems to him less idolatrous than the British custom of bowing when passing the empty throne of the King in the House of Lords. He kowtows to the kitchen god, which is a symbol of meaning to him; Americans take off their hats to the flag, which is a symbol of meaning to them. So much in the world is a matter of perspective and proportion; and to the Chinese the proportions which seem obvious to an American missionary may well seem ridiculous or even vicious.

Indeed, some of the most honored traditions of Christian thought may seem dangerous and evil to a Chinese, and Christian ethics positively bad. "The transference of loyalty," one of their young enthusiasts says, "which in the Chinese conception is due to Humanity from society to God has meant to the Chinese convert the loss of a social sense. The Christian \* \* \* lives to fit himself for life beyond the grave. To the agnostic Chinese [Confucianism is essentially agnostic as to immortality] life on earth is all he has. He knows of no sequel, no life hereafter, good or bad. Hence it becomes the duty of every Chinese to live the best life he can so that he may leave the world, the only world he knows, better than he found it. It is impossible for the normal Confucianist to be happy amid unhappiness, to be content amid discontent, to rejoice when others are miserable. \* \* \* To the genuine convert concern first for his own soul and next for the souls of others comes before the general welfare, but the general welfare is the prime consideration of the

man whose ethics are based upon reason and experience rather than upon religious authority."

Nor have the missionaries always taught the best of what the West had to give. It is generally believed in America that our missionaries carried modern medicine and modern education to China. The Peking Union Medical College, supported with Rockefeller money and arising under missionary auspices, is, indeed, a splendid outpost of Western medical science, and so is the Yale Medical School at Changsha, but many of the mission hospitals are among the most wretched institutions ever graced with that name. There are still missionaries who think that it would be an insult to God to let themselves be vaccinated, and the result is that the smallpox rate among missionaries in China is one hundred times that in the United States, and the typhoid rate thirty-three times that in the American army. The outbreaks at Foochow last Winter were due to discovery by the Chinese of the appalling infant mortality rate in a Christian foundling asylum, and, considering the rate in some religious and non-religious orphan homes in America, one need not be surprised at the horror of the Chinese. In times of intense national feeling any people readily believes the worst of "the enemy," and today in China the missionaries belong to what seem to be enemy nations. The picture I have drawn of them in this article is not a fair, rounded picture; it is an attempt to show the black facts in the record which explain the occasional outbreaks of antagonism against them.

The missionaries are not discouraged. At Nanking in the midst of the rioting the Christian Chinese stood by their foreign friends at vast risk to themselves. Recent years have seen a growing eclecticism in the missionary body; the leaders no longer think of Christianity as exclusively the kind of Christianity taught in American Sunday schools. The Young Men's Christian Association long ago turned over the direction of its work to Chinese Christians, and if that has sometimes meant a modification of program it has been done with no lessening of American willingness to support the work. A similar tendency is marked throughout the mission field. The missionaries have not been discouraged by the hostility to them as foreigners; it only makes them more eager to translate their activity into more Chinese terms, and already they are harassing the Consulates in China with their clamorous demand to be permitted to return to their posts in the interior—and a growing num-

ber of them is ready to accept service under Chinese direction. Many missionaries passionately believe that the present crisis is good for Christianity in China. It has proved the courage of Chinese Christians, and will weed out those missionaries who cannot naturalize themselves among the Chinese people.

In the eighth century the Nestorian Christians were in high favor with the court of China, but all their mission work went for naught and was forgotten until the discovery of a stone tablet at Sianfu nearly a thousand years later. No one knows why. In the thirteenth century another group of Christians returned to power and influence,

but they were associated with the alien Mongol conquerors and were swept away with the Mongols. In the seventeenth century the priests returned to China; again they won high favor, but the Jesuits and the Dominicans fell into dispute and instead of letting the Emperor decide they referred their squabble to the alien Pope. That was the end of their power. The fourth wave of Christian missionary work in China is now a little more than a century old. It, too, has seemed on the point of perishing because it was too closely associated with foreign rule and alien domination. But perhaps on this occasion the Christians will have learned their lesson in time.

## XV.—The Status of Women

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A STRIKING feature in the modernization of China is the change that is taking place in the lives of the women. It is noteworthy, too, that the reforms to which this change is due were inaugurated by the Manchus, whose rule was overturned by the revolution of 1911.

Manchu women enjoyed somewhat more freedom than their Chinese sisters under the old régime. They did not bind their feet and could get about more easily. Ladies of rank among them did not appear to be kept so secluded as were the wives and daughters of Chinese mandarins. As members of the ruling race, they had no inferiority complex. They bore themselves with self-confidence and poise. They seemed to be under no constraint in the presence of men. They did not have behind them the long ages of civilization that had made the Chinese women what they were. The Manchus had adopted some of the Chinese conventions, but they still retained a good deal of the barbarian freedom that their women had enjoyed in Manchuria.

It was not this racial characteristic, however, that induced the Manchu Government to adopt a policy of reform in 1902. That policy was rather the result of the humiliation of the Government by the Boxer folly of 1900, and the utter defeat of China by the Allied forces that had rescued the foreign Legations at Peking. Defeat brought home to the rulers a realization of the backwardness of China and the need of

change. The lesson had been taught, indeed, during the war with Japan in 1894-95, and some statesmen had learned it then. Chang Chih-tung in his little book, *Learn*, had urged the Government to introduce the study of those branches of Western education that had made Japan so powerful. The Emperor Kuang-hsu had been convinced and had issued a series of remarkable edicts in 1898 designed to strengthen the State and adjust it to the conditions of the modern world. But the reactionaries worked upon the fears and prejudices of the Empress Dowager, Tzu-hsi, whose coup d'état restored her to power and sent the Emperor to prison. The reform edicts were rescinded. The forceful woman on the Throne made a vain effort to cause the shadow on the dial to go backward several degrees. She brought the Boxers to support her anti-foreign policy and plunged the nation into a foolish war with half the world.

Sobered by her defeat and exile, as soon as the protocol of 1901 had been signed she took up the very reforms which she had so strenuously opposed in 1898. Among these reforms was the establishment of a system of public schools modeled upon that of Japan, which in turn was derived very largely from the United States.

The two foremost scholars of the empire, both Chinese, Chang Chih-tung and Chang Po-hsi, were commissioned to draw up a plan for a system of public education with curricula and regulations. They reported in



1904 in eight volumes. But they made no provision for the education of girls except in the lower primary grades. The two Chinese mandarins were very conservative. Their excuse was that the State could not bear the expense of educating girls as well as boys.

In 1905 the Viceroy at Nanking, Tuan-fang, a Manchu, was appointed one of the commissioners to go abroad to study constitutional methods of government. Before his departure he came to Peking to have audience of the Empress Dowager. While on his knees before the Throne he praised the decree that had ordered the establishment of the public school system, but ventured to point out its great defect in that it made no provision for the education of the girls who were to be the future wives and mothers of the empire. Her Imperial Majesty was greatly impressed. She sent at once for the Princess Imperial who was her adopted daughter, but by birth the daughter of the Prince Kung who for many years had been one of the Regents. To this Princess she said: "You must open in your palace a school for the daughters of the nobility." A decree was issued, too, directing the confiscation of a large lamasery in Peking to be converted into a woman's college. The latter project was not carried out, but the Princess Imperial opened her school and her example was copied by other wealthy women, so that in a few months provision was made for the free education of a large number of girls from all classes of society. From Peking the movement spread to other cities. The local authorities became interested in many places and took up the task. The chief obstacle to success was the lack of qualified teachers. The mission schools supplied the want to a degree and a number of Japanese ladies volunteered their services.

The report of the two commissioners who drew up the plan for a public school system was made in 1904. It called for lower and upper primary grades in all communities, both urban and rural. Middle schools were to be established in the county towns and colleges in the provincial capitals. Universities were to be located at Peking and at other important places. Normal schools and professional schools of various sorts were to be added.

#### GIRLS' ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

It had always been the custom in the village schools of the old type to permit the little girls to attend with their brothers, but, as a rule, girls did not study in the public schools after they reached the age

of 10 or 12 years. The new system also allowed the little girls to attend the lower primaries, but the movement inaugurated by Tuan-fang's petition required the establishment of schools for the higher education of women. Circumstances, however, have prevented the execution of the project except in a very limited way.

After the overthrow of the Manchu Dynasty the republican Government made some changes in the educational system, chiefly in the curricula. The amount of time given to the study of the classics was reduced so that more attention could be given to such subjects as sewing and other household arts for the girls and agriculture and manual training for the boys. A further revision of the regulations was made in 1922. At present they call for four years in the lower primary grade and two in the upper, six years in the middle schools and five in the university. It is intended to make the first four years in the primary school compulsory for all children. The two years in the upper primary are to be given to vocational work, and this is to be required also of the last three years in the middle schools. This is designed to give a practical character to public education. Girls are to be prepared for the intelligent discharge of their duties in the home and boys made ready for their chosen occupations. But during the upper three years of the middle schools those who want to go on with their education will find pre-professional courses, courses preparatory to entrance to the university and normal courses for those who intend to teach.

The system is an ideal one on paper, but it would be a mistake to imagine that it had been generally adopted. It has been estimated that to make education compulsory for the four years of the lower primary would require 600,000 more teachers than are now available. Not only has there been a great dearth of qualified teachers, but the country has been in almost continuous civil war since 1911 and education has suffered in consequence. Appropriations for education have been seized by the military authorities for the support of their armies. The salaries of professors and teachers have been left unpaid and many schools have had to close their doors. This is sad enough, but in the matter of education for the girls, the situation is even worse, for the lack of funds has prevented altogether over a large part of the country the opening of the middle schools for girls. In 1917, according to the *Educational Year Book*, the number of boys attending the public schools was 3,898,065,

while the girls were no more than 177,273. In 1925 the total attendance in the elementary schools was given as 6,417,321. At the ratio of 1917 the number of girls in this total would be less than 280,000. In 1923 the number of middle schools was reported as 547, with an attendance of 103,385. At the ratio between the sexes in 1917 in all schools this would mean that 4,514 girls were attending the middle schools. Even if we adopt the estimate of Hollington Tong that in the middle schools the girls number one-fifth of the boys, there would be but 20,677 girls receiving secondary education. But Mr. Tong's statistical tables contradict him, for they report 428 middle schools for boys, with an attendance in 1917 of 69,598, and but nine middle schools for girls, with an attendance of 622. Assuming that the same ratio was maintained in 1923 there would be but a little more than 10,000 girls in the middle schools in that year.

The reason for such disparity in the attention given to the secondary education of boys and girls is that co-education is not allowed in any of the grades between the primary schools and the university, and, where funds have been insufficient to provide middle schools for both sexes, the authorities, rightly or wrongly, have thought it more important to give secondary education to boys than to girls. The National Educational Association in 1925 made a strong appeal for more middle schools for girls and more normal schools for women.

The lack of secondary education for girls has resulted in a very small attendance of women at the universities, although their doors are open to both sexes. In admitting women to the universities, the Chinese have taken a bold step and deserve great credit for it. Probably there is no other Asiatic country in which the higher institutions of learning are open to women.

The education of women in China owes much to the work of the missionaries. Immediately after the first war with Great Britain had opened five ports in 1842 to foreign residence and trade, missionaries began to establish schools for both sexes. When the treaties of 1858 gave missionaries the right to travel and reside in the interior, the mission school soon followed the trail of the evangelist. Missionaries, as a rule, have given hearty support to the Government program for education and are endeavoring to adjust their curricula to those of the public schools. They maintain elementary and middle schools for girls and support several universities which are either co-educational or have affiliated col-

leges for women. Some of these colleges have charters from American States which permit them to confer degrees. Among these is the Ginling College at Nanking, which was established in 1915 and is supported by six denominations. Smith College has adopted it as a "sister college." Ginling has already granted the B. A. degree to some sixty young women, most of whom have gone abroad for further study and all of whom have done some teaching. Some have taken up the profession of medicine; others have gone into religious work. In the six mission colleges that provide education for women there were in 1925 in attendance 3,489 students, of whom 503 were women.

A mere glance at the statistics that have been quoted is sufficient to show how utterly inadequate to the need is the present school system in China. There are not less than 75,000,000 children of school age; yet not one-tenth of them are found in the public schools.

#### WOMEN OF THE OLD REGIME

We should make a serious mistake, however, if we were to suppose that no children are educated except those attending the public schools and the mission schools. The old-fashioned schools are still open. There are 500 of them, with 12,000 students in attendance, in the one City of Nanking. They teach the written language and expound the Confucian classics, a source of culture not to be despised. It must not be forgotten that until 1905 education for the most part was private. Parents paid fees for the education of their children. The well-to-do kept tutors in their homes. While girls from humble homes attended the village school with their brothers, the daughters of the wealthy shared with their brothers the instruction of the tutor. From of old, through all the centuries, China has had her brilliant literary women. Confucius tells us that King Wu, who founded the Chou Dynasty in the twelfth century B. C., had ten able administrators to assist him, and that one of them was a woman. That implied that she was an educated woman. The wife of the brilliant poet, Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju, who eloped with him from her father's house, rivaled her husband in poetic talent, as shown in the verses addressed to him after he had abandoned her. The Lady Pan of the first century B. C. has immortalized her metaphor of the "Autumn fan" as a symbol of the deserted wife, once so greatly desired, but cast aside when the warmth of Summer is past. The



Lady Ts'ao of the first century A. D. completed the history of the Early Han Dynasty which had been commenced by her father. Three great women have ruled China: the Empress Lü, in the second century B. C.; the Empress Wu, in the seventh century A. D., and the late Empress Dowager Tzu-hsi, who died in 1908. At an audience to the ladies of the diplomatic corps in 1904 the writer heard her say: "I am told that people in the legations say that I cannot write. I want you to see that I can." She then sent for writing materials and gave us samples of her chirography, written easily with a firm and practiced hand. Educated women are not so common in China as in the Western World, but they have always existed.

Considering all that has been said above, have we no right to expect to find that a great change has taken place, due to the reforms begun in 1902 in woman's relation to the family or to society, in her outlook upon life, or in her occupations or customs? It seems to the writer that we must in all fairness admit that remarkable changes have taken place in certain localities where Western influence is strong and where the new education has been pretty generally adopted. In the Shantung University, which has a Canadian charter, women students are taking courses preparatory to degrees in theology and medicine. This is true, too, of other mission colleges for women. Already in many parts of China you will find women practising medicine to the great benefit of their sisters. There are women engaged in writing, both as authors and editors. Others are employed in business. There is a woman's bank in Shanghai, all of whose employes and most of whose patrons are women. Large numbers are engaged in teaching and some are employed by the Y. M. C. A. in social service work.

These changes are necessarily accompanied by others, for they imply a breaking away from the tyranny of old custom. One of the greatest benefits conferred by the Empress Dowager's edicts relating to the education of girls was found in their requirement that all girls admitted to the schools should give up foot-binding. This at once made foot-binding unfashionable in the cities where girls' schools were opened, and the regulation was strengthened by a provision of the curriculum which made it obligatory for all girls in the schools to learn dancing.

This was followed very naturally by a considerable modification of the ancient re-

strictions upon social intercourse of the sexes. Before the Boxer rising members of the diplomatic corps were sometimes entertained by Ministers of State, but no ladies were present. Occasionally, although rarely, the wife of a Manchu or of a Chinese high official would invite the ladies of the legations to a strictly feminine party. But with the inauguration of the reform era some of the more liberal-minded officials dared to invite the diplomatic representatives to bring their wives with them to dinner and have Manchu and Chinese ladies present to receive them and to sit down with foreign men at table. It was not until after the establishment of the republic, however, that the extent to which old prejudices were giving way became apparent. At the first reception given by the republican Minister for Foreign Affairs, his wife and daughters and the wives and daughters of other officials assisted in receiving the foreign guests at the Foreign Office, and when the doors of the banquet hall were thrown open it was at once converted into a ballroom, where the young men and women were soon engaged in dancing. Today, if you visit one of the large hotels in Peking, you will find that it is quite an established custom for Chinese young men and women to take part in the dancing that follows the dinner.

#### MODERN WOMEN'S DRESS

But again it is necessary to point out that such a change as this is not common throughout the country. Away from a few of the large cities, where foreign influence is strong, the old restrictions still hold sway. Missionaries who have just returned from China assure me that in the interior provinces foot-binding for women is still practiced in rural communities and the shaving of the head and wearing of the queue still the fashion for men.

The Manchus issued a number of edicts against foot-binding, but no regard was paid to them by the Chinese until girls' schools began to be established. Among the Cantonese, however, a society was formed about half a century ago, whose members were pledged not to bind the feet of their daughters nor to take women with bound feet as wives for their sons. The missionaries also throughout the period of their work among the Chinese have labored incessantly to end the cruel practice. As the education of women extends throughout the country this age-old evil will undoubtedly disappear.

Chinese women, like their sisters in other lands, have been fond of occasional changes

in the fashion of their dress. Sometimes they have preferred a wide, flowing sleeve, sometimes one that was short and narrow. Other changes, too, were made not noticeable to the masculine eye. Where Western influence is strong, therefore, Western dress is more or less in evidence. The flappers of Shanghai wear bobbed hair, knee-length skirts and silk hosiery. But generally speaking, throughout China, in the capital and at the ports, as well as in the interior, women's dress is quite conservative. In Canton one still sees them wearing the old-fashioned trousers, and elsewhere the prevailing costume is a modest jacket with a skirt that reaches half way from the knee to the ankle. There is variety in head dress and shoes, but neither Paris nor New York can dictate to the real leaders of society.

Bobbed hair, however, is quite popular among the girls at school. Its cleanliness and the economy of time in dressing it recommend it. But the male tyrant still denounces it. The Governor of Chihli ordered the arrest of any woman found on the streets of Tientsin with bobbed hair. But such fulminations have as little weight with the Chinese women of today as the Manchu edicts against foot-binding had with their mothers. Three sisters attending a mission school in Tientsin sewed a braid of hair to a cap and went to school one by one. The first, on reaching the school, took off the cap and sent it to the second sister by the hand of a servant. The second sister did likewise for the third, and thus the Governor's edict was mocked. In the interior, however, the elaborate coiffure and head-band prevail as of yore.

The *Li Ki*, or Record of Ceremonies, says: "The woman followed the man. In youth she obeyed her father and her brother. Married, she obeyed her husband, and, after his death, she obeyed her son." Divorce in theory has always been easy in China, but rarely practiced. A husband could divorce his wife for very trivial reasons, but mental cruelty was not one of them. There were nine justifiable causes: false statements in the marriage contract, barrenness, want of respect for the husband's parents, loquacity, jealousy, incurable disease, leaving home without the husband's permission, and beating her husband. Practice, however, was always better than theory. Many a scolding wife in China who is expert in "cursing the four corners" still remains undivorced. Children are taught to revere the mother as well as the father, and a man does not as a rule want to send away the mother of his children.

Anciently young people rarely exercised any choice in marriage. That was arranged by their elders. Sometimes, however, a son or daughter would refuse the union arranged. Pi Wu-ts'un in the year 500 B. C. declined to take the bride chosen by his father. The young man was leaving for his regiment and said: "If I return I mean to marry either Miss Kao or Miss Kuo." He did not return, for he was killed in battle, and both Miss Kao and Miss Kuo were left desolate. In those days when a Princess of one State was to be married to the ruler of a neighboring State, she took with her as concubines for her husband her younger sister and two young ladies from each of three States that had assisted in arranging the marriage.

Today, with the increased freedom of social intercourse between the sexes, a good many marriages are arranged by the young people themselves, but such unions still are very rare, for social conventions are just as powerful in China as with us. Marriage contracts are still made by the parents and are held binding by the courts. Occasionally such a contract is broken by the action of a young man or woman in choosing a different mate. In such cases damages are paid.

Concubinage still prevails, but is growing unpopular. Under the old régime a young man married to please his father, but chose a concubine to please himself. But there was only one wife. She was taken with solemn religious rites and she alone could join with her husband in the worship of his ancestors. The concubine was theoretically her servant, but sometimes, being a favorite, she had her own establishment. Children of the concubine rank with those of the wife. Indeed, they are reckoned as children of the wife and wear deeper mourning for her than for their own mother.

One of the most notable reforms introduced by the Manchus was the abolition of slavery in 1910. Many of these slaves were maid servants who had been sold in childhood by their parents in time of famine. Others were concert hall girls bought by their masters for similar reasons. These young women were taught to read and write, to embroider and to play some musical instrument. They were not prostitutes and were hired by concert halls or by parties of men for the entertainment of guests. It was from these concert hall girls that many concubines were selected. By the edict of 1910 all these slave girls were to be set free at 25 years of age and provided with husbands. The edict did not



forbid concubinage, but did prohibit the purchase of women for that purpose. Concubines were to be taken in accordance with legal forms duly witnessed.

The new code of China has nothing to say about concubinage, but that it is tolerated is shown by the terms of the law, which punishes only assault, abduction, adultery with a woman whose husband is living, and bigamy, that is to say, the marriage of a woman as a wife while the true wife is still living. In the present condition of affairs in China, marriage and divorce, in the new codes are not as a general rule enforced.

#### POLITICAL STATUS

Women as yet have only the same political status as they possessed under the empire. None of the Constitutions thus far adopted by the Chinese Parliament grants the suffrage to women. The suffrage is limited to male citizens 21 years of age or over, who possess either certain educational qualifications or a limited amount of prop-

erty or pay annual taxes to a certain amount. The present Nationalist Party proposes equal rights for women, but it is not yet in possession of the Government. In the North, also, a committee has been at work on constitutional revision and has recommended equality for women in the exercise of the suffrage. This recommendation, however, has not yet been adopted. The disabilities under which women have suffered in the past still exist in so far as the law is concerned. But women are taking an active interest in politics and are demanding equality before the law. They are often seen on the public platform and are effective speakers. Such activity, however, is confined to the few. The great mass of womankind in China is indifferent to political issues. With the spread of education there is no doubt that this indifference will vanish. Suffrage for women and equality before the law have yet to be won, but there is reason for entertaining the hope that they will be achieved in the near future.

## XVI.—Women as Nationalists

By DOROTHY T. WONG

A LEADING CHINESE WOMAN SPEAKER IN AMERICA

**W**E have women in China, too. Yet the American newspaper provides no space for our 200,000,000 women, except in the case of Madame Sun Yat-sen. These women, whom a certain writer called "China's liability," are coming to be an asset to the Nationalist Government.

Confucius once said: "Woman is subject to man." Contrary to that traditional teaching, the Chinese women today subject themselves only to a program. In pushing the Nationalist movement onward and outward the men play the noisy games and hence are heard overseas. Who does not know the dynamic notes of Eugene Chen! Meanwhile, the women attend to an internal reorganization, a general house-cleaning, so to speak.

While Madame Sun Yat-sen, widow of the first President of the Chinese Republic, whose "three people's principles" have been the driving spirit behind the Nationalist movement, is playing an important rôle in the Central Executive Committee of the Nationalist Government, Madam Lai Pui

Wa, a member of the Women's Section of the Central Executive Committee, and Madame Tong Wan Kung, chief of the Women's Section and member of the Judicial Reformation Committee, are devoting their full energy and time to the solution of the problems of Chinese women.

The Women's Department of the Nationalist Government is responsible for the founding of the day and night schools, establishing vocational classes for striking women and educational courses for their children. Also they have been fighting for equal educational opportunities and have already won admission to the higher schools in Canton, including the law and medical colleges. General educational work among illiterates, whether of the laboring or other classes, has also been begun under the auspices of the Women's Department. Volunteer teachers have been used. Nothing is given to the teachers except their rickshaw fare.

Another important phase of the Kuomintang women's work has been the dis-

semination of political and social principles. This is being done by special organizers in the field, both in Canton and the outlying districts. The work is done in homes and factories, where an effort is made to bring to the people a realization of the problems that confront them, affecting their own lives and the life of China, and the means that the Nationalist Party has adopted to solve those problems.

Organizers also are sent out to take charge of Red Cross work with the army. To the present time, fifty trained organizers have been sent into the fighting regions. These women have organized Red Cross corps on the field and have done a service which has received considerable commendation from army leaders.

In the field of suffrage, as Madame Sun-Yat-sen has pointed out, there is no possibility of a fight for the vote, such as has been waged by the women in Europe and America. In China, outside the Nationalist Party, there is but little suffrage machinery. Inside the party, however, the women have fought their battle and won. As a matter of fact, they did not have so difficult a battle on hand as in the West, for the leaders of the Nationalist Government have an open mind to the ideas of votes and representation for women. In the first party Congress there were no women. But in the second party Congress there were sixteen women representatives in a group of about 130. In the next Congress it is expected that there will be still more women.

But the most difficult of all the tasks for Chinese women is to break away from the customs and laws which have held them in bondage for the past several thousand years, as Madame Tong has said. The big struggle in China is against conservative public opinion, which has remained unchanged and seemingly unchangeable for some time. Women in the West have also had to fight this battle, but it has never been a fight on so gigantic a scale as it will be in China, where the position of women has been more backward and the women more diffident. But the battle is on, and the most encouraging aspect of it is that the stern opposition of the men, that has been the wall against which the western women have battered, is not encountered in China. There was no difficulty in putting through the second Congress last year a woman's resolution that covers adequately the claim of women for independence and equality. The extent to which women's rights will be protected in future China can be seen from

the following points covered by this resolution, which is being made the basis upon which the Judicial Reformation Committee is drafting new laws:

1. Equality of education for both sexes.
2. Equality of vocational opportunity for both sexes.
3. Absolute equality of both sexes in respect to law.
4. Equality of wages for both sexes.
5. Protection of motherhood.
6. Protection of child labor.
7. Aid for women labor unions.
8. Overthrow of traditional rites enslaving the female sex.
9. Opposition to polygamy.
10. Opposition to the system of juvenile wives.
11. Absolute freedom of marriage and divorce.
12. Opposition to unequal judgment on the sexes by law courts.
13. Promotion of equal treatment of remarried women by society.
14. Securing for all women the right of property and inheritance.

This resolution, however, is not the end of the battle, as Madame Tong pointed out. The next step is to get these changes enacted into laws.

Madame Tong is one of the four women who are on the Judicial Reformation Committee which is now engaged in the reorganization of the laws, and one of the primary purposes of the women on the Committee is to see that proper women's laws are framed. A complete new body of women's laws may be expected to be placed upon the statute books within the present year, at latest by the end of next year, Madame Tong states.

Chinese women are now emerging into politics and there is no resistance to them in the Nationalist Party. They are now going into the student world, into the labor world, into the business world, and in these spheres, also, they meet with no resistance. As they play a greater part in the political and economic struggles, they become less dependent upon the old Chinese ideology. Slowly, they are cutting themselves away from the family. They are becoming individuals who insist upon their right of choice.

While the women on the farm have always been and still are an economic asset, and the workers and student women are being transferred to the debit side of the ledger, the women of the middle class do not seem to have the "drive" to assert themselves in the struggle for independence. Unlike the middle class of America, the women of this middle class in China represent the intervening group between the well-educated and the entirely ignorant women. They have no profession or re-



sponsibility. Their economic status in the society amounts to nil. Unless a fundamental rearrangement of our society is brought about, these women will continue to remain in their present idle and inactive state.

To many Westerners this women's move-

ment within the Nationalist Party may appear elementary, and it may even be suggested that there is no need of taking things so seriously, but the memory of the race is short. One so seldom knows or cares to remember his grandfather's struggles and disappointments.

## XVII.—The Chinese Language

By FRANCIS SNOW

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DEPARTMENT OF ROMANCE LANGUAGES

IT is generally believed by Americans and other Western peoples that Chinese is the most difficult language in the world today. Perhaps it was for that reason that the writer began to study it, fortified by the experience he had gained in learning some thirty modern languages, including Russian, and in attempting to learn several Oriental languages, such as Turkish, Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit.

In this case the impressions received were, to say the least, surprising. No language that the writer had ever studied bore grammatically any similarity to Chinese; in fact its most striking feature was its absolute lack of any grammar at all. The result, to a linguistically trained mind, seems at first chaotic. Such expressions as "Want not want?" (Do you want it), "Look see, look not see?" (Do you see it), "Last week in afternoon come woman—that woman I want see." (I want to see that woman who came last week in the afternoon), "He quick come," and so forth, are somewhat bewildering, to say the least. The net impression is one of an almost infantile naïveté, reminding us of the mental processes of immature children.

The point is that Chinese has no inflection; no declensions of nouns, no conjugations of verbs, no tenses or moods, no prepositions, the fewest possible forms for personal pronouns, no relative pronouns or relative clauses. To make this clearer I will add that there is only one form for the noun, pronoun and verb, and virtually no connecting grammatical links. The result is one of extreme simplicity. This explains the statement, which may be surprising, that Chinese, far from being difficult to learn, is easier than any other of the important modern languages—English, French, German or Russian, let us say.

French grammar has its syntactical subtleties and complexities; English has its peculiar idiomatic and phonetic difficulties for foreigners; German is as heavy as lead and highly illogical in construction and bristles with a complicated system of inflections; the Russian verb system, with its perfective and imperfective aspects and its verb substitutions is a thing accursed. The statement made above needs some modification, however. Chinese is perhaps the easiest language in the world, if one wishes to acquire only a working knowledge of the vernacular, enough to make one's self understood by coolies and 'rickshaw men, to ask questions, make purchases and indulge in simple conversation. Another modification must be made; to speak intelligibly one must have a keen ear for what may be called musical tone, for on musical tone the whole question of comprehension of the Chinese language depends. Nevertheless I am assured by certain eminent travelers of academic rank who have lived in China for extended periods that even inability to imitate the Chinese tones accurately does not prevent one from making one's self intelligible under ordinary circumstances. From my own experience in Chinese tones, I do not believe this; Chinese words have manifold meanings and only the tones can fix the meaning desired.

### COMPLEX WRITTEN LANGUAGE.

The greatest difficulty in learning Chinese is, of course, the characters. It is the Chinese characters, however, which make the study of the language so fascinating. To say that they represent an almost insuperable difficulty for the foreigner is a conservative statement. But in saying this, I am referring only to the old, classical, literary language, which developed

銅工、石工、金銀工、土  
木工等，有一天，  
開了一個勞工會，  
內有一個土木工說  
道：『自由平等這四  
個字，是很神聖的，  
就是今天大家開會  
的要點。』

# 第一課

## 會工



銅 石 金 銀 土 等  
勞 內  
聖 點

Two pages of the text-book used in teaching the vernacular to the Chinese people by representatives of the Mass Education Movement. The words on the right-hand page, at the top, mean Lesson 1. The line below reads Kung Hwei, or Labor Union. The characters at the bottom of the left-hand page, reading from right to left and downward, are: Tung, copper; shih, stone; ching, gold; ying, silver; ti, earth; t'eng, all these things; lau, hard; né, inside; shen, sacredness or sage; tien, point. The characters above are an exercise based on the vocabulary given

on absolutely divergent lines from the vernacular, becoming eventually as crystalized and absolute as classical Latin was in the time of Julius Caesar, separate and distinct from the vernacular Latin spoken by Caesar's soldiers or even spoken by Caesar or Cicero themselves in the intimacy of their home circle. Another analogy is that between classical Sanskrit and the modern dialects of India (Bali) which developed side by side with the written language, but again on noticeably dissimilar lines, so far as grammar, syntax and vocabulary were concerned, though the modern tongues show a closer relation to the old language than is generally assumed. A comparison more vivid to the English-speaking reader and perhaps more accurate from the Chinese viewpoint would be the flowery, rhetorical, artificial style of Dryden as against the colloquial vernacular style of the popular American newspaper.

It is this classical written language which

has compelled the Chinese people as a whole to remain for so many centuries a nation of illiterates. The Chinese masses had neither the leisure nor the mental training required to memorize the twelve or fourteen thousand characters that make up the literary language; nor even the time nor the patience to learn the symbols for the few hundred or few thousand words—depending on their social position or native intelligence—which constitute their daily vocabulary. This situation is today undergoing an amazing transformation. Started ten years ago and supported by Chinese intellectuals young and old, the vernacular movement has grown with amazing rapidity. Young China, aflame with revolutionary enthusiasm, has now launched the vast Chinese Renaissance movement, of which the mass education campaign is one of the most important parts. The cumbrous and unwieldy vocabulary of the literary language has been reduced to a thousand of



the most important characters, now compiled in attractive textbooks, four thin paper-bound graded readers illustrated, like the ordinary school primer in our schools, with thought-suggesting pictures and forming a full course which can be completed in a few months. (See the accompanying illustration.) From isolated words to brief phrases and then to sentences the course takes the ignorant and unlettered Chinese, who, after giving one hour each day, masters the thousand forms easily within four months, at a teaching cost of no more than \$1, until, to his delight, he finds that he can read the Chinese vernacular newspapers and follow intelligently the momentous happenings of the day in his own country and in the world at large. The influence on the new China of this new mass education movement, which is now nation-wide, can scarcely be over-estimated.

After mastering this reduced number of symbols, those with time and inclination are encouraged to continue their studies and increase their vocabulary. Most of them, of course, will never acquire the literary language as a whole, and as for the foreigners who strive to master the written language, it may be said without exaggeration that they are attempting an almost herculean linguistic task. The usual explanation of this is that the language is wholly pictorial or ideographic, each symbol being an arbitrary character painting a picture or representing an idea, making it an effort of sheer memory to retain the meaning of the signs. This assumption, however, is erroneous. As the Chinese authority, H. A. Giles, has pointed out in his long and learned article in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, the pictorial or ideographic element of the Chinese characters represents only a small percentage of the whole. Even the Oxford English dictionary makes the mistake of calling the Chinese language ideographic.

The Chinese written system, all in all, constitutes a script of amazing elegance and decorative charm, each character grouped compactly with all its elements into the compass of a small square. The signs are arranged in columns, starting at the right, running down vertically and continuing at the top of the next column at the left. As the foreign student scans these serried columns and phalanxes of black lines, dashes, curves and dots, interwoven with considerable artistic skill by means of a slender, reedlike brush which give scope for long, flowing strokes and alternations of shading, he feels despair of ever pene-

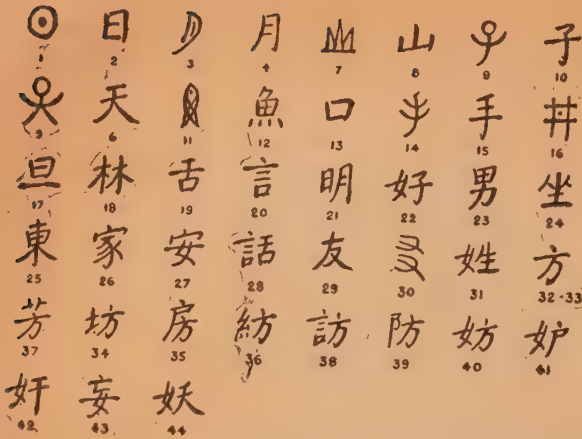
trating deeply into the arcana of this complicated system of written expression. And yet, many of these complex forms lend themselves to analysis.

#### DEVELOPMENT OF CHINESE WORD-CHARACTERS

The development of the whole system can be grouped under three classifications: (1) the early pictorial element; (2) the abstracts, or ideographic elements; (3) the phonograms. As stated above, the purely pictorial signs represent the early stage of the written language. From the knotting of cords to the notching of wood, bamboo or stone, the first groping attempts to visualize language, in ancient China, as in old Mexico or Peru, resulted in the rise of numerals, of which the isolated horizontal lines expressing several Chinese numerals are a survival today. The next stage was that of expression by means of rude drawings or pictures. So accumulated some 200 or 300 characters representing common objects in nature; the sun, the moon, the stars, a tree, grass, and so forth; or objects pertaining to man, parts of the body, a rude but logical design for the concept of God, and so forth. Some characters today, such as those reproduced in the accompanying table, to which the figures given in the text below refer, still betray this pictorial origin; *the sun*, originally a circle with a dot (1), now modified (2); *a crescent moon* (3), now modernized (4); *God*, a rude drawing of a man (5), only slightly modified (6); *mountains* (7) showing three clearly defined peaks, now as in (8); *child* as in (9) and (10); *fish* as in (11) and (12); *mouth*, originally a round hole, now as in (13); *hand*, originally as in (14), now as in (15), still showing the fingers; *a well* as in (16), now without the dot.

Then came compound pictographs, the sun above the horizon, a horizontal line below the sun symbol (17); trees standing side by side, a forest (18); a human mouth, with emerging lines symbolizing the tongue (19); a mouth with lines showing the emanation of breath, viz, human words (20).

So the development proceeded, until the race reached the point where it needed signs to symbolize abstract ideas. This was secured by combinations of symbols; the sun and moon combined formed the concept *bright* (21); woman and child made *good* (22); fields and strength, *male* (23); two men on the earth, *to sit* (24); the sun seen through trees, *the East* (25); a pig



Chinese characters showing the development of the written language. The meanings are given in the text of this article

under a roof, the Chinese peasant's idea of *home* (perhaps several people under a roof) (26); a woman under a roof, *peace* (27); words and tongue, *speech* (28); two hands, old form (30), modern form (29), *friendship*; woman and birth, *clan-name* (31). (For these and other interesting and ingenious Chinese ideographs, see Giles, l. c.)

Lastly came phonetic symbols. It should be pointed out that these make up fully nine-tenths of the language. The system adopted was to borrow a character already in existence to stand for another word of different meaning or use, but of the same sound. Since the Chinese language possesses but few vocables, ten different words might have the same sound, viz., *fang*. One of these words only had a character, the word meaning *square* (32-33). The process was to take the symbol for square and extend it to signify one of the other words of this sound, viz., *street* or *locality*. To avoid confusion, the device of a classifying prefix was adopted, i. e., *ti-fang* (34) was formed, meaning *earthplace*, hence, place in general. Then the other words of the sound *fang* were given a symbol: a *room* became *door-fang* (35); to *spin* was *silk-fang* (36); *fragrant* was *herbs-fang* (37); to *inquire* was *words-fang* (38); an *embankment*, viz., to *guard against*, was *mound-fang* (39); to *hinder* was *woman-fang*, a most interesting commentary of the essential quality of woman's nature from the masculine viewpoint (40), supplemented and enlarged by the following characterization of alleged unpleasant

traits, all containing the radical for *woman*, viz., *jealous* (41); *treacherous* (42); *false* (43); *uncanny* (44). Other devices of a similar nature were applied, enclitics, repetitions of the same word, combinations of words with the same or complementary meanings. The result was to make the language virtually bi-syllabic. This was necessary because of the vast number of meanings attached to many Chinese words. So the great body of Chinese written forms was laboriously built up, and an adequate, and even complex medium of expression was created for a rich and lofty literature, justly famed for its antiquity, vastness of conception, and inspiring ideals.

Chinese today is represented by a number of dialects, which, though sprung from a parent nucleus, are as different as the Romance, Teutonic or Slavic languages from one another. Most of them fringe the Chinese coast, penetrating only a short way into the interior. Cantonese dominates in Kwangtung in the South; Hakka inland; on the way northward are met the following: Swatow, Amoy, Foochow, Wenchow and Ningpo. The great Mandarin dialect (*Kuan hua*) is the chief language of China today, the official language spoken by the majority of China's 400,000,000 people. It is the language of the ancient city of Peking. It is split up into a number of intimately allied dialects, some closely related, others, such as the Yangchow, Hankow or mid-China dialects, so different as to enjoy an independent status of their own. It has only some 420 vocables or separate sounds for the conveyance of speech; this poverty of sounds it makes up for by the use of aspirates at the beginning of words, viz., *p'u* as distinguished from *pu*. (Many analogies for such aspirated initial sounds may be found in Sanskrit.) It has also only four tones, as against the nine of Cantonese, making Pekingese or Mandarin much easier to acquire conversationally than the dialect of Canton. When one gets used to the swift alternation of musical tones, the "sing-song" effect is not without its charm.

#### MUSICAL TONES OF SPOKEN LANGUAGE

Even in this reduced form, the tones are exceedingly difficult for the foreigner to acquire. The writer's first attempts to imitate these tones were greeted by his Chinese teacher with unfeigned amusement, at times with irrepressible bursts of laugh-



ter. Giles approximates them as follows:

1. *Dead.* (raised monotone, slightly plaintive).
2. *Dead!* (simple query).
3. *Dead?* (incredulity, long drawn out).
4. *Dead!* (sharp and decisive).

The distinctions at times are so subtle that the foreign ear cannot even seize them. The nomenclature is as follows: the even, the rising, the sinking, and the entering, each falling into an upper and lower series. The Pekingese tones shown above consist of the even upper, the even lower, the rising and the sinking. The Chinese schoolboy learns them under the following names: (1) Ping; (2) Shang; (3) Chü; (4) Zhu. The only analogy is Swedish, which the writer regards as one of the sweetest languages of Europe and one of the most difficult to speak correctly. The foreigner's chief mistake in Chinese is the attempt to give the correct tone to every word in a sentence; there is a chief tone, as in some Russian words (viz., *piatdecyát*, fifty, pronounced approximately *pedesyát*), around which other tones may be pronounced more or less obscurely without impairing intelligibility. But to speak Mandarin Chinese correctly or elegantly, with all its tones and subtle cadences, is a task to challenge the linguistic powers of any polyglot of Western birth.

The most interesting thing in this vast

and complex Oriental language is the process now actually going on in China to give the inchoate, unlettered masses a written language and literature of their own. China's backwardness could not be better indicated than by pointing out that the patriotic young Chinese (especially Y. C. James Yen), who have launched the movement for a written language expressing the language of the people are doing pioneer work which was done for Western tongues—especially Italian—many centuries ago. Linguistically speaking, they occupy toward the cumbrous and unrepresentative classical language the relation of Dante Alighieri to the Latin of his time. "Away with the old, antiquated linguistic mechanism of long-dead days," cry the reformers of New China, "the language and the literature of the nation must be of the nation, by the nation and for the nation!" This mood must not be misunderstood. They cannot sweep the old classical written tongue away, nor do they desire to do so. But they are right in insisting that the Chinese people as a whole—coolies, millhands, house-boys, men, women and children of the submerged laboring and peasant class—shall be taught to read and write their own vernacular, to lift up their bowed heads and receive the light of modern civilization into minds too long darkened by medieval conditions of ignorance, squalor and misery.

## XVIII.—The Chinese Philosophy of Life

By NATHANIEL PEFFER

NEWSPAPER CORRESPONDENT, EDITOR AND MAGAZINE WRITER

I AM not thinking now of China's painting, poetry, architecture, ceramics, philosophy, inventions, crafts and early engineering works. These are the external achievements of a civilization. True, they are the only lasting test of its worth, and I think that a civilization which had produced the Temple of Heaven in Peking, and that alone, would have raised the stature of mankind. But the external achievements of a civilization can be judged in themselves and objectively. If I am thinking of art at all, it is of the art of living. I am thinking of human values.

A people who need not be well-bred to be well-mannered, who can carry themselves with dignity and poise, though poor and ill-clothed and unwashed, who can smile with-

out outer cause, but from inner harmony, whose social relations are formed on reason rather than force—that people has a heritage of culture.

Walk down any opulent street in New York or Chicago. Look carefully at the faces of the most opulent persons who pass. They are well-dressed, well fed, obviously in command of every material resource. Their faces are sombre and stolid, if not harried and oppressed. Go down, not an opulent street, but one of the poorer artisans' alleyways in Peking, Soochow or Canton. There are no opulent, none is well-dressed. None, indeed, is unpatched. To most of them even security is elusive. Yet the silversmith or the potter in his doorway and the itinerant barber or goldfish mer-

chant in the road can laugh and does laugh—at you, as you walk by, at a neighbor opposite, so close he can almost be touched by an outstretched hand, at nothing at all, or at things in general, just at the sheer good humor of living. One is happy, that is all. The Dragon Boat festival approaches and one does not know how the season's accounts are to be settled; one's ribs are too easily felt under the jacket; it is years since one has had a new coat and it will be more years until one has another. But the sun is warm, the trees are green over the neighboring wall, a bird sings sweetly in the inner room, people are friendly, even when quarreling, and, well—life is pleasant. One is happy. So one smiles. Not at anything in particular. One just smiles. I think nothing depressed me so much when I returned to America after five years in China as the rarity of laughter. The clean, rounded, well-fed faces broke so seldom into smiles and with such difficulty. One laughed at jokes. Otherwise, life was a grim and heavy business.

Walk down the same opulent streets in New York and Chicago, and regard even the most opulent. One may wear Paris models and London tweeds, and, even before one has opened one's mouth, put one's self down as vulgar. And in the same artisan thoroughfare in Peking or Soochow or Canton, to those habituated to differences in exterior and not obsessed by them, it is patent that the sweetmeat hawker with his baskets slung over his shoulder can be a gentleman. He bears himself with ease, courtesy is natural and ingrained, he is respectful without deference, he has dignity. Also he is unclean and in the first days of Spring he sits him down by the roadside and publicly dispossesses the vermin accumulated in his padded coat through the Winter. But if you talk to him you find him a gentleman. I may say that after five years in China, in this respect, too, the contrast here was depressing. But it taught me that there was no relation between gentility and, say, prosperity. By gentility, of course, I do not mean books of etiquette.

It is commonly said that it takes three generations to make a white man a gentleman. I should say that a Chinese can be born one. In this no inherent racial difference is implied. I should say instead that it could be explained by the slow infiltration of a cultured way of life through the mass even to the lower social and economic levels. I should say that the contrast lay more in point of cultures.

I have mentioned prosperity. I do not want to toss it off with precious, cloistral superiority. Poverty in itself is not a good. The subsistence line is not a comfortable habitation—and there most of China dwells. Hard, physical, back-breaking labor is not a good—and that is the lot of nearly all China. One works sixteen hours a day, often at that which a machine could do in three hours. But, though the working day is sunup to sundown, there is no such rigid division of life into work and leisure as we have. The cooper in a Chinese town is at work all his waking hours. But he is not always working. He sits in his factory, which is also his home and his shop, surrounded by his assistants, who are his relatives, his apprentices and his children. He stops now and then to light a tiny pipe, to gossip, to play with his children, to go to the teahouse near by for a chat with his fellows. His work is inseparably interwoven with his play. His daily life is a unity, though hard. The point is this: He makes his own pace. And it is a pace adjusted to human needs, not the demands of an impersonal system of production. An eight-hour day under drive, the drive of something external and impersonal, may be harder and more wearing than a sixteen-hour day measured out at one's own decision.

In the work of the artisan, though hard, there is meaning. He buys his materials himself; he designs the product himself; he makes it himself; he sells it himself. His product is all his own; his work is a whole; it is part of himself. He has the satisfaction of making something, though it be only a rice pot; and, though he never will make anything but rice pots, each, if he likes, can be different. He is master of his work, as well as his time. He is not driven by a machine; neither is he its servant. Nor does he sit all day punching a hole in a piece of leather going by on a belt, not knowing what the piece of leather was before it came to him or what it will be when finished, and not caring.

It has been said of the Chinese that they cannot govern themselves, that they have no government. That is true. But that does not mean that they do not govern themselves. They do, but by force of tradition rather than by law administered by officials. There is no concept of government corresponding to ours. There has been no need until the coming of railroads and telegraphs and concentrated public utilities compelled a degree of centralization. I was in China in the famine of 1921. I



went through the worst of the stricken region, accompanied only by a servant and unarmed. I was in villages where for days there had been nothing to eat but leaves boiled and tender bark. I was a foreigner, with all a foreigner's legendary wealth. I had food and ate it publicly in the courtyard of village inns. I was not molested. I knew I would not be. Too many generations of respect for the rights of an individual, for order in the relations of individuals, protected me. I needed no policeman. The villages needed no policeman. Family councils or guild committees settled disputes, by test of reason, compromise or arbitration, on principles laid down in tradition. Why have policemen and take recourse to courts? I have never been able to read American newspaper editorials on the need of law and order in China without smiling.

To old China's credit another virtue must be set down—religious tolerance. The Chinese alone among the great nations have not killed in the name of religion, have been spared the horrors of religious strife. Buddhist, Taoist, Mahommedan, Christian, Jew, lived side by side in amity, each free to follow his own belief as to his relation to the universe, his belief being his private affair. The earliest Christian missionaries, those of the Catholic orders, not only were received hospitably but given honors at the court. The Jews who came to Honan were not persecuted; they were assimilated and are now indistinguishable from the Chinese. The so-called anti-Christian sentiment at present has no religious bearing. It is political. The rule of reason which appears to have operated throughout in Chinese life is extended even to religion.

The Chinese is distinguishable from the Westerner in this above all: He puts no premium on activity as such. Indeed, he values leisure more highly. The Westerner functions only through activity. It matters not what activity, he must be doing to feel alive, to grow. Sometimes, if not most often, he loses sight of the end of activity. The Chinese instinctively asks, Why? Is it worth the effort? And to how much of, say, ordinary American activity could those questions be put without destructive results? We accomplish more, it is true, but how much of it is worth accomplishing, looked at from a distance? How much would be lost to life if we had not accomplished it? Or, however valuable it may be, say we accomplished one-fifth less and lived less fevered lives? The span of the race's life being endless and the generations

numberless, what would it matter? But the span of the individual is short. Why not use it to the full, to the full of enjoyment? Why the sense of guilt or of waste in leisure? The sun is warm in the temple courtyard, the muffled noises of the marketplace outside its walls are soothing, the shadows of the tree's bending branches play gracefully on the paved stones. Why not just sit and think? Of nothing in particular. Just think. To let one's faculties drift out into space, inactive, suspended, mingled with whatever is in space, unmeasured and unmeasurable—cannot the spirit be nourished thus, too? As much as by ever doing, doing, doing—perhaps doing that which is scarcely worth doing, or at best is so little, so pitifully little, in a cosmic infinity. Why not, then, be enjoying? Not enjoying anything in particular. Just enjoying.

I do not wish to romanticize. I do not want to commit the familiar error of seeking escape from our own harsh realities in a fantasy of a Chinese Golden Age that doubtless never was. I know China at its worst as well as its best. I know the bitter poverty of its masses. I have seen its people dying slowly of hunger for lack of transportation facilities to bring the grain plenteously stored a few hundred miles away. I have ridden about the streets of Tientsin in a rowboat on a level with the housetops in a flood that could have been prevented by modern engineering skill. I have seen peasants roll over in the fields to die of cholera for lack of sanitation and medical facilities. I have been repelled by the stench of sewerless towns and horrified at old men and women harnessed to carts as draught animals. I know the cost of scientific and mechanical backwardness.

Also I know the cost of scientific and mechanical advancement. I know that a civilization may be technically efficient and barren, and technically backward and rich. I hear it glibly said that China must reconstruct itself, must reform, must "modernize," that is, it must go to machine production and the mechanized way of life. Maybe it must. Perhaps the drive of the age is irresistible. But I am not so sure as most foreigners who know China that in that direction lies advancement for China and happiness for the Chinese. I am not so sure that there alone is the path to human progress. But I am sure that if the Chinese way of life must go, as it must if China modernizes, much will be lost to the world that was precious. And the march of destiny may be irresistible; but one may mourn what it treads down.

# The Faith of the Fundamentalists

By W. B. RILEY

PRESIDENT OF THE WORLD'S CHRISTIAN FUNDAMENTALS ASSOCIATION; A MINISTER OF THE BAPTIST CHURCH SINCE 1883

A DOZEN years ago a great layman, Lyman Stuart of Los Angeles, placed in the hands of a competent committee a fund of \$300,000, requesting that the money be used to publish a series of books dealing with the Christian fundamentals, and that the entire Protestant ministry of the world be made a present of them. The inspiration for this undertaking Lyman Stuart received as he listened to a great sermon from the lips of Dr. A. C. Dixon, then pastor of the Metropolitan Tabernacle, London, England. The publication and distribution of these books had been completed when Dixon and the writer were thrown together for days at the Bible Conference at Montrose, Pa. After long periods of prayer and conference, we agreed to call the initial meeting that brought into existence the World's Christian Fundamentals Association.

At its first meeting in the last week of May, 1919, in Music Hall, Philadelphia, over 6,500 Fundamentalists gathered from different States, provinces and continents. Additional auditoriums had to be employed to accommodate the crowds, and at the end of the week the organization was a completed fact, a volume, *God Hath Spoken*, was ready for the press and the Fundamentalist movement was a new-born infant, but a lusty and promising one. The frontispiece of the volume, reporting the convention, carries the pictures of Dr. George E. Guille, Extension Worker of the Moody Bible Institute; Dr. Lewis Sperry Chafer, President and Founder of the Dallas, Texas, Theological Seminary; Dr. A. B. Winchester, Pastor of Knox Presbyterian Church, Toronto; Dr. Reuben A. Torrey, then Dean of the Bible Institute of Los Angeles; Paul Rader, then Pastor of the Moody Tabernacle, Chicago; Dr. J. C. Massee, Pastor of the Tremont Temple, Boston; Dr. C. I. Scofield, famous scholar and editor of the Scofield Reference Bible; Professor W. H. Griffith Thomas of Wycliffe College, Toronto; Dr. William L. Pettingill, Dean of the Philadelphia School of the Bible; Dr. John Roach Straton, Pastor of the Calvary Baptist Church, New York City; Dr. L. W. Munhall, author and editor of *The Eastern Methodist*; Dr. I. M.

Haldeman, Pastor of the First Baptist Church, New York City; President Joseph Kyle of Xenia Theological Seminary, St. Louis, Missouri; Dr. P. W. Philpott, then of the Gospel Tabernacle, Hamilton, Ontario; Dr. George McNeely, Pastor of the Elizabeth Avenue Baptist Church, Newark, N. J.; Charles M. Alexander, the world-famous singer and President of the Pocket Testament League, and the writer, W. B. Riley, Pastor of the First Baptist Church, Minneapolis, Founder and President of the Northwestern Bible College.

What is Fundamentalism? It would be quite impossible, within the limits of a single article, so to treat the subject as to satisfy all interested parties. There are too many features of this Christian faith for one to attempt a delineation. But there are at least three major propositions that must appear in any adequate reply, and they are these: It is the Christian Creed; it is the Christian Character; it is the Christian Commission.

## THE GREATER CHRISTIAN DOCTRINES

Fundamentalism undertakes to reaffirm the greater Christian doctrines. Mark this phrase, "the greater Christian doctrines." It does not attempt to set forth every Christian doctrine. It has never known the elaboration that characterizes the great denominational confessions. But it did lay them side by side, and, out of their extensive statements, elect nine points upon which to rest its claims to Christian attention. They were and are as follows:

1. We believe in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as verbally inspired by God, and inerrant in the original writings, and that they are of supreme and final authority in faith and life.

2. We believe in one God, eternally existing in three persons, Father, Son and Holy Spirit.

3. We believe that Jesus Christ was begotten by the Holy Spirit, and born of the Virgin Mary, and is true God and true man.

4. We believe that man was created in the image of God, that he sinned and thereby incurred not only physical death, but also that spiritual death which is separation



from God; and that all human beings are born with a sinful nature, and, in the case of those who reach moral responsibility, become sinners in thought, word and deed.

5. We believe that the Lord Jesus Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures as a representative and substitutionary sacrifice; and that all that believe in Him are justified on the ground of His shed blood.

6. We believe in the resurrection of the crucified body of our Lord, in His ascension into Heaven, and in His present life there for us, as High Priest and Advocate.

7. We believe in "that blessed hope," the personal, premillennial and imminent return of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ.

8. We believe that all who receive by faith the Lord Jesus Christ are born again of the Holy Spirit and thereby become children of God.

9. We believe in the bodily resurrection of the just and the unjust, the everlasting felicity of the saved and the everlasting conscious suffering of the lost.

It would seem absolutely clear, therefore, that many of the liberal writers of recent years have never taken the pains to ask for the basis of our belief. Had it been so, an Old World writer could not have said of us that we held to "a flat earth," to "an immovable world," to "the circulation of the sun, moon and stars around the same every twenty-four hours," to "a canopy or roof overhead"; and some New World textbook producers would not have been willing to assail immature student minds with similar absurd sentences. This charge of ignorance in realms of science against the leaders of Fundamentalism has about as much basis of truth as had the statement from the university professor that the author of the Tennessee anti-evolution bill had, upon learning that the Bible was not made in heaven and dropped down, expressed his regret that he ever wrote or advocated the passing of the bill. Modernism when it comes to deal with the Fundamentals movement is suddenly possessed with a strange imagination. If you want to know what the movement is *not* and who its leaders are *not*, read their descriptions of both. Certainly as to what we believe, the above declaration leaves no doubt, and only the man ignorant of the Bible or utterly indifferent to its teachings, could ever call into question that these nine points constitute the greater essentials in the New Testament doctrinal system.

Fundamentalism insists upon the plain intent of Scripture-speech. The members of this movement have no sympathy whatever

for that weasel method of sucking the meaning out of words and then presenting the empty shells in an attempt to palm them off as giving the Christian faith a new and another interpretation. The absurdities to which such a spiritualizing method may lead are fully revealed in the writings of Mary Baker Eddy and modernists in general. When one is permitted to discard established and scientific definitions and to create, at will, his own glossary, language fails to be longer a vehicle of thought, and inspiration itself may mean anything or nothing, according to the preference of its employer. Professor Machen of Princeton University has properly exposed this procedure, and in his volume, *Christianity and Liberalism*, has shown that, although modernism still calls itself Christianity, it has nothing in common with the faith that for two thousand years has worn that great and honorable name, and that as a religion it does not even belong to the same family with Christianity. With keen discernment he says: "In trying to remove from Christianity everything that could possibly be objected to in the name of science, in trying to bribe off the enemy by those concessions which the enemy most desires, the [modern] apologist has really abandoned what he started out to defend. It is because the true Fundamentalist utterly rejects that method that he remains and must forever remain a premillenarian. One of the leading opponents of modernism—an outstanding man in the divinity department of a great university—logically declares it to be foolish to profess faith in the literal Bible and deny its teachings concerning the personal, imminent and premillennial coming of Christ."

#### "FOREVER SETTLED IN HEAVEN"

There are men who would join us tomorrow if we omitted the seventh point from our doctrinal statement, and they marvel that we permit it to remain in our declaration, knowing its divisive effect. Our answer is: Fundamentalism insists upon the plain intent of Scripture-speech and knows no method by which it can logically receive the multiplied and harmonious teachings of the Book concerning one doctrine and reject them concerning another. The greater doctrines are not individual opinions that can be handled about at pleasure. In the judgment of the Fundamentalist they are "forever settled in heaven." "Holy men of God, who spake as they were borne along by the Holy Ghost," have told us the truth—God's truth—and truth is as unchangeable as imperishable. "Scripture cannot be broken."

The "truth of the Lord endureth forever." "The empire of the Caesars is gone; the legions of Rome are moldering in the dust; the avalanches that Napoleon hurled upon Europe have melted away; the pride of the Pharaohs is fallen; the pyramids they raised to be their tombs are sinking every day in the desert sands; Tyre is a rock for bleaching fishermen's nets; Sidon has scarcely left a rock behind; but the Word of God still survives." And it not only endures forever, but it remains forever the same—the same in words, the same in meaning, the same in spiritual intent. God's work is incapable of improvement. The sun is old, but the world needs no new or improved one!

Fundamentalism is forever the antithesis of modernist critical theology. It is made up of another and an opposing school. Modernism submits all Scripture to the judgment of man. According to its method he may reject any portion of the Book as uninspired, unprofitable, and even undesirable, and accept another portion as from God because its sentences suit him, or its teachings inspire him. Fundamentalism, on the other contrary, makes the Bible "the supreme and final authority in faith and life." Its teachings determine every question upon which they have spoken with some degree of fullness, and its mandates are only disregarded by the unbelieving, the materialistic and the immoral. Fundamentalists hold that the world is illumined and the Church is instructed and even science itself is confirmed, when true, and condemned when false, by the clear teachings of the open Book, while Liberalism, as *The Nation* once said, "pretends to preach the higher criticism by interpreting the sacred writings as esoteric fables." In other words, the two have nothing in common save church membership, and all the world wonders that they do or can remain together; and the thinking world knows that but one tie holds them, and that is the billions of dollars invested.

Nine out of ten of those dollars, if not ninety-nine out of every hundred of them, spent to construct the great denominational universities, colleges, schools of second grade, theological seminaries, great denominational mission stations, the multiplied hospitals that bear denominational names, the immense publication societies and the expensive magazines, were given by Fundamentalists and filched by modernists. It took hundreds of years to collect this money and construct these institutions. It has taken only a quarter of a century for the liberal bandits to capture them, and the only fellowship that remains to bind mod-

ernists and Fundamentalists in one body, or a score of bodies, is the Irish fellowship of a free fight—Fundamentalists fighting to retain what they have founded, and modernists fighting to keep their hold on what they have filched. It is a spectacle to grieve angels and amuse devils; but we doubt not that even the devils know where justice lies, and the angels from heaven sympathize with the fight and trust that faithful men will carry on.

Creed alone is neither competent nor convincing. Creed, in the abstract, is cold and dead, but creed incarnate constitutes Christianity as positively as the word incarnate constituted the Christ. Christianity roots in a creed and fruits in character. "As a man thinketh in his heart, so is he." It was that truth that James sought to set before his brethren centuries since: "What doth it profit, my brethren, though a man say he hath faith, and have not works? \* \* \* Faith, if it hath not works, is dead, being alone. \* \* \* A man may say, Thou hast faith, and I have works; shew me thy faith without thy works, and I will shew thee my faith by my works." In fact, that is the only faith that is ever seen. If the other exists at all, it is forever invisible and ineffective. The longer one lives and the more closely he observes upon his fellows, the more profoundly is he impressed with this truth.

#### CREED AND CONDUCT

Years since, I produced and employed an argument in connection with the anti-saloon campaign that I thought logical and effective. I now believe that it was extremely faulty. I used to say that the true prohibitionist is the man who votes the prohibition ticket. He may be drunk the day before and drunk again the day after election, but if he becomes sober enough to reach the polls and cast a vote against the infamous thing, he has proven himself a true prohibitionist. The man who votes against prohibition may never have tasted liquor in a lifetime, and yet his vote proves him a friend of intemperance. Both sides of the argument were faulty. The fact is that the true prohibitionist is the man who combined a vote against the saloon with sober living, who incarnated his creed in his daily conduct. The first man, by his patronage of the saloon, has proven his willingness to have it continued, and the second man, by his vote for the saloon, united his influence with the conduct of the first, and both of them proved that creed apart from conduct is not sufficient and that conduct apart from



creed is not adequate. He is not a true Christian, then, whose conduct is exemplary, but who doubts or denies the Christ and disputes the revelation to be found in His Holy Word. He is merely a "Behaviorist," and in nine cases out of ten his behavior is a product of Christian principles and practices set before him by a faithful Christian father, or a Godly mother. And he is not a Christian who holds tenaciously to each and every one of the thirty-nine points of the Westminster Confession, or adopts even the ninety-seven theses of Martin Luther, but who, in spite of his orthodoxy in creed, is heterodox and bestial in conduct.

The man who combines an unshaken faith in the authority and integrity of the Bible with an aggressive uprightness in conduct, is the man who approaches, in some human measure, the perfect copy in the Christ life, for in His words the most watchful enemies were unable to catch Him and against His works no worthy objection was ever urged. Even His enemies were compelled to admit, "Never man spake like this man" (Jno. 7:46), and to question, "Whence hath this man this wisdom, and these mighty works?" (Mt. 13:54). Herbert Booth, the youngest son of General Booth, published a few years since a book entitled *The Christian Confederacy*, in which he pled, as only a Booth can plead, for the combination of high conduct with correct creed. Of that combination Booth said: "The times are ripe for it, and nothing else will do. We must cry with the utmost boldness, 'This way for a fight to the finish, a fight that asks no quarter from the world, the flesh or the devil.' No cowards wanted here! No clever compromisers with the treacherous spirit of the age; no cunning contrivers who practice the art of 'holding the truth in uprightness'; no renegades who hold back their gospel weapons from attack while doing the 'popular' works which win the applause of men; none who doubt God or Jesus, His only begotten Son or His everlasting Gospel or His ever-present Spirit. Keep out, all of you! The object of this Confederacy is to raise up and gather a host whose faith shall be a challenge to the world's unbelief, whose happiness in the service of God shall put to shame the pleasures of the worldly Christians who go down to Egypt for their enjoyments; whose voices shall be raised in the churches and throughout the world as a protest against the cringing doubt which covers itself with ambiguous and plausible phrases because it is afraid to show its face in the open; these are the heroes we want!"

The proofs of Fundamentalism, then, are

not in words, but in deeds. This has been the conception of Fundamentalists from the first, for while the World's Christian Fundamentals Association, as an organization, is but nine years old, Christian Fundamentalism has back of it two thousand years of glorious history. It was Fundamentalism that produced the Book of Acts. You will find every essential feature of our creed in Peter's sermon at Pentecost, even to the Second Coming. It was Fundamentalism that conquered the Roman Empire, and in one hundred years revised the conduct of men and brought in and established laws of righteousness, including regard for the Sabbath, the rights of the Church in the State, and the recognition of law versus anarchy. It was Fundamentalism that challenged corrupt Rome in Martin Luther's time and called out a people whose clean and wholesome conduct became the condemnation of foul papal practices, and turned the thought of the general public from the coercive measures of a corrupt Church to the intelligent and voluntary service of the King of Glory. It was Fundamentalism that faced the heresy of Deism one hundred and forty years ago, and in an open and fair field fought the battle to the finish, and slew that infidel monster as effectually as Saint George was ever imagined to have trampled the dragon. And it was Fundamentalist evangelists who so uniformly led the common people back to the "faith once delivered" as to bury atheism practically out of sight for one hundred years.

But to battling, Fundamentalism has forever added building. Of all the colleges that Congregationalism, of nearly one hundred years ago, contributed to America, commencing with Harvard in the East, dotting practically every State in the Union with at least one, Fundamentalism built the entire line. The same remark applies to the Baptist, Presbyterian and Methodist institutions known to the whole American continent.

In Chicago recently, Arthur Wells, Vice President of the Santa Fe Railroad System, handed me an excerpt from that memorable after-dinner speech of James Russell Lowell when he had been both preceded and profoundly stirred by infidel utterances, and in the course of which he said: "Whatever defects and imperfections may attach to a few points of the doctrinal system of Calvin, the bulk of which is simply what all Christians believe, it will be found that Calvinism or any other ism which claims an open Bible and proclaims a crucified and risen Christ is infinitely preferable to any form of polite and polished skepticism which

gathers as its votaries the degenerate sons of heroic ancestors, who, having been trained in society and educated in schools, the foundations of which were laid by men of faith and piety, now turn and kick down the ladder by which they have climbed and persuade men to live without God and leave them to die without hope."

Of what value is our boasted accomplishment of mechanical and electrical and chemical discoveries, if, while they are contributing to our material prosperity, they are more rapidly still undermining our morals? The whole doctrine of evolution is not only lacking a single illustration in the processes of nature, but it is being disproven by the program of man, for mechanical invention resulting in moral decay, is not even progress, but degeneration instead. Babylon, Persia, Greece and Rome—each of them reached a climax of material development and then deliberately committed suicide by moral degeneracy. Certain advocates of evolution are beginning to fear the repetition of history, and even Henry Fairfield Osborn utters his warning, "Our age needs the lofty moral teachings of the Bible," and follows it with a sane statement, "Our youthful confidence in the powers of reason has been shattered; like Icarus, we have taken our flight, and the wings of reason have ceased to sustain us."

#### FUTURE OF FUNDAMENTALISM

The future of Fundamentalism is not with claims, but with conquests. Glorious as is our past, history provides only an adequate base upon which to build. Fundamentalists will never need to apologize for the part they have played in education; they have produced it; or for their relationship to colleges and universities and theological seminaries, and all forms of social service; they have created them! Even Walter Rauschenbusch, famed higher critic as he was, pertinently asked, "Has the Church not lifted woman to equality and companionship with man, secured the sanctity and stability of marriage, changed parental despotism to parental service, and eliminated unnatural vice, the abandonment of children, blood revenge, and the robbery of the shipwrecked from the customs of Christian nations? Has it not abolished slavery, mitigated war, covered all lands with a network of charities to uplift the poor and the fallen, fostered the institutions of education, aided the progress of civil liberty and social justice, and diffused a softening tenderness throughout human life? It has done all that, and vastly more. The influence of Christianity, in tam-

ing selfishness and stimulating the sympathetic affections, in creating a resolute sense of duty, a stanch love of liberty and independence, an irrepressible hunger for justice and a belief in the rights of the poor, has been so subtle and penetrating that no one can possibly trace its effects. We might as well try to count up the effect in our organism of all the oxygen we have inhaled since our first gasp for breath. In so far as humanity has yet been redeemed, Christianity has been its redemption." Rauschenbusch dared not say what history demanded of him, that each and every one of these conquests has been the fruit of Fundamentalism. But even that is not enough! Now that modernism has come in to filch from us these creations of our creed, we must either wrest them from bandit hands or begin and build again. In the last few years, in fact, since the modernist-highwaymen rose up to trouble the Church and snatch its dearest treasures, it has shown itself as virile as the promise of Christ, "The gates of hell shall not prevail against it," ever indicated. Today there are one hundred schools and colleges connected with our Fundamentalist Association, some of which have escaped the covetous clutches of modernism, but most of which have been brought into being as a protest against modernism itself. Their growth has been so phenomenal as to prove that the old tree is fruitful still, and that the finest fruit is to be found upon its newest branches, orthodox churches, Fundamentalist colleges, sound Bible training schools, evangelical publication societies, multiplied Bible conferences and stanch defenders of the faith in ever increasing numbers in each denomination. In fact, so fruitful is our movement that *The Christian Register*, the one clear mouthpiece of modernism, is not only alarmed, it is discouraged, and says "Protestantism is in eclipse. Christianity enters a new dark age. The modernists who arose in the various denominations to fight Fundamentalism and to bring new freedom to the churches have all retired; their movement has collapsed; victory rests with the Fundamentalists." Harbor Allen, in a recent magazine article on "The War Against Evolution," makes a kindred concession as to the triumphs of Fundamentalism.

#### PLIGHT OF MODERNISM

There is in my possession at this moment a communication from one Rev. Henry G. Ives of Unity Church, Amherst, Mass., a radically resentful review of my book, *The Blight of Unitarianism*, and it contains com-



pliments to be appreciated. For instance, speaking of the President of the Fundamentalists Association, he says: "This opponent happens to be a big man, and he has millions trotting behind him," and he also voices his alarm after this manner: "This man wakened me up! If we Unitarians are not loyal to our gospel of the twentieth century Christianity, the Christianity of the sixteenth century will either take its place or other hands than ours must carry the torch." We beg leave to correct our brother at one point only, leaving to other writers the certainty of criticism for what he has said of us. We suggest to him that it is not the Christianity of the sixteenth century that will whelm modernism in every form but the Christianity of the first century, in fact, the Christianity of all centuries. That will continue to bear the torch that has ever dispelled darkness and it will exalt Him who is the Light of the world.

The greatest menace to Fundamentalism today is not the outright modernist. It is that middle-of-the-roader who is milking his denomination with one hand and every wealthy Fundamentalist approachable with the other, in behalf of what he maintains will be "a new Fundamentalist theological seminary," but who, when once the bucket is filled, will walk away with it to turn it over, again, as has been so often done, to the enemies of Christ. It is this course, employed by not a few in the last five years, that makes it difficult for the sound Fundamentalist institutions to secure help from those who believe with them. But five years more will fix theological affiliations to such an extent that these hypocritical pretenders will be branded forever as they deserve, and the institutions over which they preside will be passing through the same court procedure that Andover endured for years, to have the final and supreme decision rendered against their covert and cowardly course, and the cash of true Fundamentalists, living and dead, turned again into those channels of education for which its donors resolutely intended it.

The Christian commission is to preach the Gospel of Christ and not another. Consider the head of a great denominational mission board producing and publishing a booklet on "the Great Commission," and while about the apparent defense of Matthew 28:19-20, he actually discredits the inspiration of that passage and writes an interrogation point into the middle of the very claim of inspiration itself. Paul, nearly two thousand years since, faced such foreign

mission officials, and having heard of their influence, wrote to his Galatian brethren: "I marvel that ye are so soon removed from Him that called you into the grace of Christ unto another gospel: Which is not another; but there be some that trouble you, and would pervert the gospel of Christ. But though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed. As we said before, so say I now again. If any man preach any other gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be accursed" (Gal. 1:6-9). And Paul, in his epistle to the Corinthians, tells us exactly what that gospel is: "Moreover, brethren, I declare unto you the gospel which I preached unto you, which also ye have received \* \* \* how that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures: And that he was buried, and that he rose again the third day according to the Scriptures" (I Cor. 15:1, 3, 4). Imagine a mission board willing to send out upon the foreign fields, and fight for their retention and maintenance there, men who deny that declaration in its entirety, disputing alike the atonement made by Christ and His victory over the grave. There is not a week but brings us some report from foreign fields of division on the field itself over the promulgation of "another gospel," "which is no gospel"; of foreign mission schools that scoff at Moses and exalt Darwin; that reduce Christ to the level of a man and degrade Him to the descendant of a monkey, and of mission secretaries that hold to scorn the precious blood He shed, and denominate the declaration of it, "the gospel of shambles."

#### "EPILEPSY OF DARWINISM"

The tragedy of it all! However, it takes hold of the of believers as they think of "the cup of salvation" sent to the Japanese and learn that some man or woman has, while wearing the name of missionary, put into that cup the deadly poison of modernism and made it to effect for those who drink of it, no redemption, but an epilepsy of Darwinism. *The Bible Champion* of January, 1927, truly said: "The liberalistic movement in our Christian churches is not a mark of normal and healthy growth. It is a case of pathology, and it threatens to become more and more virulent. If it is not cured, the disease will sap the very life of the Church." Think of theological seminaries, endowed to the extent of millions, and still pleading with Fundamentalists to give them more, training the children of Trini-

tarian believers in the Unitarian philosophy, and sending them forth to pulpits at home and abroad! It is to this non-spiritual, anti-Christian and insane procedure that Fundamentalism objects. Holding absolutely to the authority and integrity of God's Word, it believes itself commissioned by the risen Christ to "teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost," (Mt. 28:19) "to preach the Gospel to every creature," baptizing them that believe as assuredly saved.

The Christian commission is to make disciples and not denominationalists. A disciple is a man taught, an instructed believer. We properly translate our commission, "Go ye, therefore, and disciple all nations." The history of the rights of denominationalism might be an interesting study, but it would clearly demonstrate no divinity. There is nothing in the New Testament to advocate or even justify its existence. The Bible is not a book so difficult of understanding as to separate men into factions. The trouble is they have come to it with their prejudiced opinions, with their fixed philosophies and have tried to find in its sacred pages the differences of inherited heresies, and denominationalism has been the result. Is it any wonder that this modern Diana is now being discredited? And shall we marvel if she suffers the same fate that befell the Diana of the Ephesians? Should we be surprised if we find that ecclesiastical officials, who have financially profited at this false shrine, call together men of like occupation and salary with themselves, and say: "Sirs, ye know that by this craft we have our wealth." Moreover you see and hear throughout all America, and even to the end of the world, these Fundamentalists are persuading and turning away many people, saying that denominationalism is not divine, so that not only our craft is in danger to be set at naught, but even the great denomination itself may come to be despised, and her magnificence destroyed.

Strangest of all things, the very men who are now seeking to save denominationalism do not seem to realize that they have taken the very steps that lead the way to her destruction. The explosion of the Interchurch Movement was a blast that loosened every denominational foundation. By the wild attempt to combine in *one* people whose creeds were utterly antagonistic; to unite together those who held the Church authoritative, and those who held the Bible authoritative, and those who held their own inner conscience authoritative, they produced the

elements that effected explosion. Just as chlorine and hydrogen exposed to light produce an instant and destructive blast, so this Darwin-conceived attempt to ignore the great fundamentals of the Christian faith, bind in one body Unitarian, Trinitarian and atheist, when the light of God's truth was turned upon it, exploded the whole machine erected for the production of this combination. While certain high officials have found soft ecclesiastical positions upon which to land, millions of dollars went up in that smoke and not one fragment has ever since been found. It is practically the same men, ecclesiastical potentates, who have put their heads together and have agreed upon the division of fields at home and abroad, the cooperation of laborers irrespective of what views they might hold or what gospel they might preach, reducing even the gospel itself to a negligible quantity and asking nothing other than a co-operative endeavor in drawing salaries, enjoying offices, thinking out programs, pulling off feasts, and fleecing the uninformed in behalf of a world-scheme that gave no promise to the world itself. In nature and character such a scheme is a thinly disguised enemy of the Gospel of God's grace and the true Church of Christ.

Some of us have seen enough! Our hearts are sick with the sight! We know that our denominationalism means nothing to us but a deception. It seems to bind into a brotherhood men that have nothing in common, but branding with the same name, when the great truth is that in every evangelical denomination, certainly, and as we profoundly believe, even in Rome herself, there are thousands, hundreds of thousands, and millions upon millions of men who are practically in faith and heart *one*, and who ought to, perhaps without longer delay, surrender up to the modernist-marauders these institutions, now so uniformly manned by unbelievers, as a liability and not an asset. As a new organization we could then go forth as brethren in the Lord, as poor, perhaps, as were the original disciples, but believing His Word and trusting His blood, declare afresh the mission of the Church of Christ and continue the task, undertaken by the apostles, twenty centuries ago, of preaching the gospel to every creature and hastening the day of the coming King.

Who are my brethren? Baptists? Not necessarily, and, in thousands of instances, no! My brethren are those who believe in a personal God, in an inspired Book, and in a redeeming Christ.



# Albert J. Beveridge: Statesman and Scholar

By R. V. OULAHAN

WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT OF *The New York Times*

WHEN Albert Jeremiah Beveridge died on April 27 it was difficult for the moment for those who had known him, even those who had known him well, to accept the statement in newspaper obituaries that he was 64 years old. A brief reflection would have convinced them of the fact, for Beveridge had been a figure on the public stage for nearly a third of a century, but to think of him in terms of threescore and more required a stretch of the imagination, despite the record that he was born in Civil War days.

Beveridge was ever young. Manner, bearing, facial expression, the entire personality of the man suggested vigor of mind and body. The press accounts told us that he conversed "buoyantly" just before he died. Buoyant he was always. Eagerly serious in his addresses on public questions, the vehemence he showed in driving home his views did not entirely obscure the buoyant spirit. There was a touch of jauntiness about him—a dashing intensity, a volatility that the passing years did not erase.

That overworked word "dynamic"—overworked in its descriptive application to personality—might have attached to Beveridge in some measure. Still it does not apply entirely in his case, for there was about him an air of repression, the hint of a suggestion that he was not letting himself go completely; that energetic as he was, he was striving to hold his emotions in check. His strenuousness was somewhat like that of Roosevelt, but oftentimes it was too strenuous for Roosevelt himself. They were alike, yet not alike. At 60, Roosevelt's temperamental enthusiasm had mellowed into a softer phase. At 64, Beveridge kept the enthusiasm of his early manhood.

Twenty-eight years ago this young Hoosier Lochinvar came out of the West to stamp the imprint of his personality on our national life. He was 37 then, but about him there was a boyishness, a naive juvenility, that annoyed some and charmed many. Handsome of face and figure, erect, quick-speaking, brisk in movement, dauntless in encounters with seasoned Solons, he

attracted attention almost from the moment he became a member of the Senate. In private discussion of public questions and party matters he did not hesitate to speak his mind, with a semi-defiant tilt of the head that meant for all the world, "I know you don't like it, but what have you to say about it?"

Across Indiana's political firmament Beveridge flamed like a meteor, and Indiana joyously acclaimed him. The oratorical eloquence which gave him statewide reputation probably was inherent, but he perfected it by painstaking effort, a quality of his nature that was not appreciated until the publication of the initial volumes of his *Life of John Marshall* brought exclamations of amazed admiration that this bubbling personality, this seeming bundle of restlessness, could have devoted years of patient study and unemotional hard work to gathering and digesting a huge mass of material, and to the drudgery of formulating it into a masterpiece of informative historical literature. But as in other things, Beveridge's heart was in it. There was to him in this laborious task a romance of which no amount of tedium could deprive him.

The press obituaries have sketched the outline of his life. They have stressed the fact that his career was one of paradox. With all his firm faith in democracy, his election to public office never came from a direct vote of the people and his two terms in the Senate were due to the Indiana Legislature. After the Federal Constitution was amended to provide for choosing Senators by popular vote, he was twice defeated in seeking that office again—once as the candidate of the short-lived Progressive Party in 1914, and again in 1922 when, as a regular Republican, he lost to his Democratic opponent, Samuel M. Ralston, who once before had defeated him when Beveridge was the candidate for Governor on the Roosevelt Bull Moose ticket. He obtained the Republican nomination for the Senate in 1922 after an intra-party primary contest with Harry S. New, the sitting Senator, a contest so full of bitterness that party dis-

affection contributed to Beveridge's defeat at the polls. So high was his vote-getting ability rated, however, that he was importuned more than once to take the Republican Vice Presidential nomination, but refused in each instance.

#### EARLY LIFE

Beveridge, the child of a second marriage, was born on an Ohio farm while his father and four half-brothers were in the Union Army. After the war the family moved to Illinois, and Beveridge recorded of himself in *Who's Who* that he "from age of 12 led a life of privations." A ploughboy, a railroad laborer, a logger and teamster until he was sixteen, that period of hard labor showed through all the years in his strong, sinewy hands. But in spite of these handicaps he managed to get some schooling, and with a borrowed \$50 he matriculated at Asbury College, now known as DePauw University. There he won a medal for oratory and in his sophomore year was awarded four cash prizes. Part of his college expenses was paid by money he earned as steward of a college club. He was 23 when he was graduated; at 25 he was admitted to the bar in Indianapolis, and ultimately he became junior member of the law firm which employed him.

Beveridge's oratorical bent led to his election to the Senate. His reputation for eloquence began to spread. Invitations to speak came from important organizations in various parts of the country. An outstanding address which he delivered before the Pittsburgh Bar Association was a forerunner of his *Life of Marshall*. It was entitled "The Vitality of the American Constitution."

These things attracted attention. Indiana Republicans were proud of their youthful-looking spellbinder. His political slant was of the sort to which Roosevelt applied the magic term "progressive." The wonder is that in a State so highly organized politically, so hidebound in party traditions, a newcomer like Beveridge should have received the highest preference at the hands of the Legislature.

Roosevelt was becoming an outstanding national figure when Beveridge was elected to the Senate in 1899. Following his election, but before taking his seat, Beveridge went to the Philippines. He returned full of the idea that the United States must retain permanent possession of the islands at all hazards. Roosevelt, then Governor of New York, wrote to Senator Lodge, "His



Underwood

THE LATE SENATOR BEVERIDGE

views on public matters are almost exactly yours and mine." Enthusiasm had responded to enthusiasm, dynamic personality to dynamic personality. While Lodge responded, too, to Beveridge's sweeping buoyancy, it had an angle a trifle too strenuous even for a man who was Roosevelt's closest friend. He wrote to Roosevelt from the Senate:

Beveridge is a very bright fellow, well-informed and sound in his views. I like him very much, but he arrived here with a very imperfect idea of the rights of seniority in the Senate, and with a very large idea of what he ought to have. He expected to get the Chairmanship of the Philippines Committee, which is going to be one of the biggest committees of the Senate, and which they have forced me to take much against my will \* \* \* and he wanted in addition a place on Foreign Relations.

Beveridge was given membership on the Philippines Committee under Lodge's chairmanship. The discouragement he received at the outset of his Senatorial career did not dampen his ardor. If he knew that a neophytic Senator was supposed to be seen but not heard—and probably he did know it—fear of the consequences did not deter him from making a set speech advocating the retention of the Philippines when he had been



in the Senate scarcely a month. The elder statesmen were annoyed, but they let it pass. A little later, however, Beveridge delivered another extended address, this time concerning Porto Rico, acquired, like the Philippines, as a result of our war with Spain. Then the elder statesmen became active. They indulged in a species of hazing which took the form of admonitory remarks directed at the new Senator from Indiana for undertaking to tell his seniors what to do.

If these efforts to "keep him in his place" worried Beveridge his attitude did not disclose it. He made speeches whenever it suited him, which was often. The elder statesmen augmented their hazing by leaving the chamber when he became too extended in his discourses. Frankly they liked neither his oratory nor his ideas about legislation. The hazing continued for the twelve years he served as Senator. When that period ended, Beveridge was 48, but as full of youthful buoyancy as ever.

#### TOO STRENUOUS FOR ROOSEVELT

Roosevelt, as President, was having his troubles with the Senate while Beveridge was there. He resented keenly the controlling influence of the group composed of Aldrich of Rhode Island, Allison of Iowa, Frye and Hale of Maine, and Platt of Connecticut. Beveridge espoused the Roosevelt causes and came to be known as "insurgent." Backed by Roosevelt, he put through the Federal Meat Inspection Bill, bitterly opposed by the packing interests. There were times, however, when Beveridge's up-and-doing activities were too much even for the active Roosevelt. In a letter to Lodge in the Autumn of 1906, Roosevelt showed that he was annoyed when Beveridge, during a visit to Oyster Bay, urged him to come out for an immediate revision of the tariff and advised him to "take" Cuba at once. "Take" apparently meant annexation. Roosevelt told Lodge that Beveridge's advice concerning Cuba was "about as rational as I used to get at the time of the anthracite coal strike, to 'take the coal barons by the throat.'" Lodge, writing to Roosevelt about the Senate debate on the Payne-Aldrich Tariff Bill, said that "Beveridge, who has not discussed a single tariff question, has been talking incessantly on every point of procedure that came up." Beveridge had then been in the Senate nearly ten years.

But if Beveridge was at times too strenuous for the strenuous Roosevelt, the latter valued Beveridge's loyalty and friend-

ship. On his return from Africa in 1910 he sought to aid Beveridge in his unsuccessful effort to obtain re-election to the Senate. The Indiana Legislature was won by the Democrats. Beveridge followed Roosevelt in the Bull Moose bolt and was picked as Chairman of the Progressive Party convention which nominated Roosevelt for President. When Roosevelt was shot by a would-be assassin in the 1912 campaign, it was Beveridge he chose to take his place at a political meeting at Louisville.

These things are told to give political Washington's appraisal of Beveridge in what may be termed his official-personal aspect. The elder statesmen diagnosed him as explosive, self-seeking, restless, unstable, lacking in that capacity for hard legislative work which brings concrete results but is not showy. His non-political intimates saw a different side. They knew that his speechmaking efforts were the outcome of diligent research and intense application. Preparing a speech, he would revise and revise, discard and boil down, and when satisfied with the product, the whole would be committed to memory. He had marvelous capacity in that respect. Some of his personal associates were entirely out of step with his views on public questions, and they shared the annoyance of Roosevelt, Lodge and others over what they regarded as the impracticability of certain of his proposals. They did not hesitate to express their disagreement with him or to criticize him severely to his face. Beveridge would come back "hammer-and-tongs"; argument, interspersed with frank personal and not over-complimentary allusion, was hot and heavy. But these friends had faith in the man's honesty of purpose and found charm in his enthusiastic naïveté; and he was devoted to them in spite of his classification of them as "reactionary."

The elder statesmen had one view of Beveridge, the country pretty generally had another. The policies he advocated suited a myriad of his fellow citizens. He built up an especially strong following among young people. Whatever the Republican Old Guard might say of him it sought the advantage of his telling eloquence when electioneering was in progress. In a spirited political campaign Roosevelt wrote to Lodge: "The demand this year has been for Taft, himself, Hughes, you and Beveridge."

Beveridge had written profusely, chiefly contributions to periodicals which subsequently appeared in book form, but none of these products of his pen suggested to most people that he was capable of sustained lit-

erary effort, let alone the diligence required to collect painstakingly and assimilate historical and biographical data. Amazement is not too strong a term to describe the manner in which his *Life of Marshall* was received. Seven hard-working years he devoted to that task. He read prodigiously. The research required was staggering. He visited every place which promised the slightest clue to Marshall's personality or where light might be thrown on the development of his views as a Constitutionalist and a jurist. Although this monumental work was to be issued in four thick volumes, Beveridge overwrote that limit. Then, with indefatigable intensity, he set himself to the task of condensation. Chapter after chapter was rewritten, six or seven times in some instances. He was credited with having revised the work as a whole as many as fifty times.

Whatever disappointments Beveridge suffered from his reverses in seeking a return to political office, they disappeared in the satisfaction that came from the reception accorded his work on Marshall. Everywhere he was hailed as a literary genius and a great biographical historian. His work was more than a biography: it was in comprehensive detail a history of Constitutional Government in the United States. Bar associations, historical societies, and other organizations brought Beveridge before them as an authority on subjects in which they were interested. As a lecturer he traveled far and wide. His association with notable historians was one of the supreme satisfactions of his life.

After his defeat for the Senate in 1922, Beveridge, at the age of 60, set himself to

his second gigantic literary task, the preparation of a life of Abraham Lincoln. So comprehensive was his plan that he conjectured that ten years would be required to complete it. Overwork on this monumental undertaking brought on the heart trouble which caused his death at the time, when lacking a chapter, he had completed the first two volumes. His life of Lincoln was assured of success from the very moment announcement was made that he was engaged on it. The enticing qualities of his work on Marshall from both the literary and historical standpoints had intrigued the fancy of its readers and they wanted more of the product of Beveridge's pen.

So Beveridge, whose early bent was politics, with its public show and glitter, attained enduring fame not as a statesman but as an historian and *literatus*, working in a quiet room far from the crowd, and his reward came in later years after politics had brought disappointment. If his early critics were just in accusing him of a restless inability to buckle down to less conspicuous but more constructive labors of statesmanship, he had the satisfaction of proving that he had the will to conquer temperamental tendencies and produce something of lasting value to the world by a combination of that hard work which is genius, and that genius which capitalized years of study, developed clearness of expression, cast aside those superlatives that oratorical ambition had encouraged, and mastered the ability to blend realism with romance so charmingly that those who set themselves to read his Marshall as a studious task find the acquisition of important historical knowledge a stimulating pleasure.





# The Fascist Labor Charter

By WILLIAM GREEN

PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

THE Charter of Labor promulgated by the Italian Government on April 21, 1927, indicates that Premier Mussolini has not abandoned his Socialist philosophy. This document proposes to prohibit strikes and to legislate into existence cooperation between management and workers. The State is to be the guardian of both employers and employes and is to assure to both groups their rights as well as reciprocal performance of duties.

When the State assumes to make decisions for individual citizens in things which concern their private lives it takes from them independence of thought and action. Such paternalism, even if benevolent in purpose, robs both employers and employes of intellectual development and growth as well as of initiative in character and action.

To strike at industrial freedom is to strike at the heart of personal freedom. There can be no freedom in any nation where the people are not industrially free. This applies both to employers and employed. Governmental regulation of industry and the relationships between employers and employes such as the Italian Charter of Labor proposes is most repressive and retarding to progress.

American labor believes that consultation,

discussion of differences of opinion and agreement upon things to be done together will assure progress with accompanying growth of individuals which will guarantee continued development. There is no permanent progress in imposing decrees and regulations upon individuals which take from them control over their lives and establish the dominance of the State. The world is watching with apprehension the performance of autocratic government in two countries, Russia and Italy. Regardless of what group may constitute the autocracy, the substitute of State control for voluntary institution means loss of freedom.

The working people in American deplore the new development in Italy and resent this further encroachment upon the exercise of the right of the working people of Italy to organize into free democratic trade unions and to bargain collectively with their employers. Autocracy cannot endure. It abuses the power which it exercises and ultimately destroys itself. This will happen in Italy. The pendulum of reaction and autocracy which has swung so far under the direction and guidance of Premier Mussolini will eventually swing back, and democracy and freedom will be substituted for autocracy and enslavement.

## *Full Text of the Italian Labor Charter*

### THE CORPORATIVE STATE AND ITS ORGANIZATION.

*Art. 1.*—The Italian nation is an organism whose aim, whose life and whose means of action are superior to those of the single individuals occupying and forming it. It is a moral, political and economic unity, which finds its complete expression in the Fascist State.

*Art. 2.*—Labor in all forms, intellectual, technical and manual, is a social duty. In this sense, and only in this sense, is it under the guardianship of the State. The whole body of production is a single unit, from the national point of view; its objects are unified and are summed up in the well-being of the producers and the development of the national strength.

*Art. 3.*—Professional or syndical organization is free. But only the syndicate legally recognized and under the control of the State has the right legally to represent the entire category of employers or workers for which it

is constituted; to protect their interests as regards the State and other professional associations; to stipulate collective contracts of labor binding upon all persons belonging to the category, to exact contributions from them, and to carry out in relation to them delegated functions of public interest.

*Art. 4.*—In the collective contract of labor the solidarity between the various factors of production finds its concrete expression through the conciliation of the opposing interests of employers and workers and their subordination to the superior interests of production.

*Art. 5.*—The Tribunal of Labor is the organ through which the State intervenes to regulate labor controversies, whether with reference to the observance of pacts or other existing regulations or with reference to the determination of new labor conditions.

*Art. 6.*—Legally recognized professional associations assure legal equality between employers and workmen, maintain discipline in

production and labor and strive to perfect them. The corporations form the sole organization of the forces of production and represent all their interests. In view of this complete representation, and of the fact that the interests of production are national interests, the corporations are recognized by law as State organs.

*Art. 7.*—The corporative State considers private initiative in the field of production as the most efficacious and most useful instrument in the interests of the nation. Private organization of production being a function of national interest, the organizer of a company or undertaking is responsible to the State for the management of its production. Collaboration between the productive forces entails reciprocal rights and duties between them. The whole working staff—technician, general employe or workman—is an active collaborator in the economic undertaking, the direction of which lies in the hands of the employer, who has the responsibility for it.

*Art. 8.*—Professional associations of employers are obliged to promote in every way possible an increase in production, to improve it, and to obtain a reduction in costs. The representatives of those who follow a liberal profession or an art and the associations depending on the State, join in protecting the interests of art, science and letters; in perfecting the processes of production and in attaining the moral aims of the corporative system.

*Art. 9.*—Intervention by the State in economic production occurs only when private initiative is lacking or is insufficient, or when the political interests of the State are involved. Such intervention can assume the form of control, assistance, or direct management.

*Art. 10.*—In collective controversies with labor legal action cannot be begun until the corporative organ has tried conciliation. In individual controversies concerning the interpretation and application of labor contracts professional associations have a right to intervene for conciliation. Competence in such controversies devolves upon the ordinary magistrature, with the addition of assessors named by the interested professional associations.

*Art. 11.*—Professional associations are obliged to regulate through collective contracts the relations between the categories of employers and employes they represent. The collective labor contract is stipulated between first-class associations, under the guidance and control of the central organizations, exception being made of the faculty of substitution on the part of the association of higher grade in cases provided for by law and statute. Every collective labor contract, under penalty of nullification, must contain precise regulations on disciplinary matters, on trial periods, on the extent and payment of compensation, and on the hours of labor.

*Art. 12.*—The action of the syndicate, the work of conciliation of the corporative bodies, and the decision of the Tribunal of Labor guarantee the approximation of salaries to the normal exigencies of life, to the possibilities of production, and to the actual output of labor. The determination of salary is not controlled by any general rule and is entrusted to agreements between the parties in collective contracts.

*Art. 13.*—The consequences of crises in pro-

duction and monetary crises should be equally divided among all the factors of production. Statistics collected by the public administrations, by the Central Statistical Institute, and by legally recognized professional associations regarding the conditions of production, the labor situation, the monetary market, and variations in the life of the workers, co-ordinated and elaborated by the Ministry of Corporations, will provide a criterion for reconciling the interests of the various categories and classes and their interests with the superior interests of production.

*Art. 14.*—When payment is made by piecework, and the liquidation of piecework is made by periods longer than a fortnight, adequate accounts must be made weekly or fortnightly. Nightwork not included in the regular periodical periods of labor is payable at higher rates than daywork. When labor is paid by piecework, payment should be determined so that the industrious worker with a normal capacity for labor will be able to earn a minimum above his basic pay.

*Art. 15.*—Employes have the right to a weekly rest on Sunday. Collective contracts will apply this principle, taking into account the existing rules and the technical requirements of an undertaking, and in view of these will ensure the respect for civil and religious holidays according to local traditions. Employes must scrupulously observe working hours.

*Art. 16.*—After a year of uninterrupted service in an undertaking requiring continuous labor, an employe has the right to an annual paid holiday.

*Art. 17.*—In undertakings requiring continuous work a laborer has the right, in case of a breach of contract and in case his discharge is not due to his own fault, to an indemnity proportionate to years of service. Such indemnity is due also in case of the death of a laborer.

*Art. 18.*—The passing of any undertaking which requires continuous work into the hands of another owner does not end the labor contract and the personnel preserve their rights under the new owner. Similarly the illness of a worker not exceeding a determined length does not terminate a labor contract. A call to arms or service in the national militia is not a cause of discharge.

*Art. 19.*—Infractions of discipline and acts which disturb the normal functioning of a company, committed by workers, are punished according to gravity, by a fine, suspension of work, or immediate discharge without indemnity. Cases in which these penalties are applicable will be specified.

*Art. 20.*—New employes will be subject to a period of trial during which the right of ending the contract will be reciprocal, with payment only for the time of actual work.

*Art. 21.*—The collective labor contract extends its benefices and its discipline to home workers also. Special rules will be issued by the State to assure cleanliness and hygienic conditions of home work.

*Art. 22.*—Only the State can investigate and control the phenomenon of employment and unemployment of workers, which is a complex index of the conditions of production and labor.

*Art. 23.*—Employment offices organized on the basis of equality are placed under the control of the corporative organs. Employers



must seek help among the workers registered in those offices and they have the option of choosing workers who are members of the party or of the Fascist Syndicates, depending on the length of time they have been registered.

*Art. 24.*—Professional associations of workers are obliged to carry out selective action among the workers, intended constantly to increase their technical capacity and moral value.

*Art. 25.*—The corporative organs must see that the laws against accidents and the policing of labor are observed by individuals belonging to the affiliated associations.

*Art. 26.*—Prevention of accidents is another manifestation of the principle of collaboration toward which employer and employee must proportionately contribute. The State, aided by corporative organs and professional associations, will endeavor to coordinate and unify, so far as possible, the system and the agencies of accident prevention.

*Art. 27.*—The Fascist State proposes to accomplish, first, the improvement of accident insurance; second, the betterment and extension of maternity insurance; third, the establishment of insurance against occupational illnesses and tuberculosis and the elaboration of a system of general insurance against all illness; fourth, the improvement of insurance against involuntary unemployment, and fifth, the adoption of special forms of endowment insurance for young workers.

*Art. 28.*—It is the task of associations of workers to protect the rights of their members administratively and juridically regarding accidents and social insurance. In collective contracts of labor, so far as technically possible, mutual funds for the sick will be established with contributions by employers, employees and Government representatives, these funds to be administered by representatives of each under the control of the corporative organs.

*Art. 29.*—Assistance to individuals represented, whether or not they are members, is the right and duty of the professional associations. These must carry out directly through their own organs their functions of assistance. They cannot delegate them to other organizations or institutions except for matters of a general nature, over and above the specific interests of each category of producers.

*Art. 30.*—Education and instruction, especially professional instruction of their representatives, members or not members, is one of the principal duties of the professional associations. They must support the action of the national organizations with respect to the *Dopolavoro* movement [a nation-wide State organization to provide recreation, education and general beneficent assistance to the workers of both sexes after working hours] and other educational initiatives.

## Text of the British Trade Union Bill

**B**ELOW are printed the provisions of the bill introduced by the British Government in the House of Commons to amend the existing trade union laws. This important measure is giving rise to one of the most bitter parliamentary conflicts in British industrial history because, in the view of Labor, it threatens to destroy the power of the trade unions. On the other hand, the present Conservative Government holds that the general strike last year demonstrated the necessity of preventing the repetition of such a disastrous upheaval.

### ILLEGAL STRIKES

1.—(1) It is hereby declared that any strike having any object besides the furtherance of a trade dispute within the trade or industry in which the strikers are engaged, is an illegal strike if it is a strike designed or calculated to coerce the Government, or to intimidate the community or any substantial portion of the community, and that it is illegal to commence, or continue, or to apply any sums in furtherance or support of any such illegal strike.

For the purposes of the foregoing provision a trade dispute shall not be deemed to be within a trade or industry unless it is a dispute between employers and workmen, or between workmen and workmen, in that trade or industry, which is connected with the employment or non-employment or the terms of the em-

ployment, or with the conditions of labor, of persons in that trade or industry.

(2) If any person declares, instigates, further, or takes part in a strike declared by this act to be illegal he shall be liable on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding ten pounds or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding three months, or on conviction on indictment to imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years.

(3) The provisions of the Trade Disputes Act, 1906, shall not, nor shall the second proviso to subsection (1) of section two of the Emergency Powers Act, 1920, apply to any act done in contemplation or furtherance of a strike which is by this act declared to be illegal, and any such act shall not be deemed for the purposes of any enactment to be done in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute.

### PROTECTION OF PERSONS REFUSING TO TAKE PART IN ILLEGAL STRIKES

2.—(1) No person refusing to take part or to continue to take part in any strike which is by this act declared to be illegal, shall be, by reason of such refusal or by reason of any action taken by him under this section, subject to expulsion from any trade union or society, or to any fine or penalty, or to deprivation of any right or benefit to which he would otherwise be entitled, or liable to be placed in any respect either directly or indirectly under any disability or at any disadvantage as compared with other members of the union or society, anything to the contrary in the rules of a trade union or society notwithstanding.

(2) No provisions of the Trade Union Acts, 1871 to 1917, limiting the proceedings which

may be entertained by any court, and nothing in the rules of a trade union or society requiring the reference of disputes to arbitration shall apply to any proceeding for enforcing any right or exemption secured by this section, and in any such proceeding the court may, in lieu of ordering a person who has been expelled from membership of a trade union or society to be restored to membership, order that he be paid out of the funds of the trade union or society such sum by way of compensation or damages as the court thinks just.

(3) As respects any strike before the passing of this act which is declared by this act to have been illegal, this section shall have effect as if it had been in operation when the strike took place.

#### PREVENTION OF INTIMIDATION

3.—(1) It is hereby declared that it is unlawful for one or more persons (whether acting on their own behalf or on behalf of a trade union or of an individual employer or firm, and notwithstanding that they may be acting in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute) to attend at or near a house or place where a person resides or works or happens to be, for the purpose of obtaining or communicating information or of persuading or inducing any person to work or to abstain from working, if they so attend in such numbers or otherwise in such manner as to be calculated to intimidate any person in that house or place, or to obstruct the approach thereto or egress therefrom, or to lead to a breach of the peace; and attending at or near any house or place in such numbers or in such manner as is by this subsection declared to be unlawful shall be deemed to be watching or besetting of that house or place within the meaning of section seven of the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act, 1875.

(2) In this section the expression "to intimidate" means to cause in the mind of a person a reasonable apprehension of injury to him or to any member of his family or of violence or damage to any person or property, and the expression "injury" includes injury other than physical or material injury, and accordingly the expression "apprehension of injury" includes an apprehension of boycott, or loss of any kind, or of exposure to hatred, ridicule or contempt.

(3) In section seven of the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act, 1875, the expression "intimidate" shall be construed as having the same meaning as in this section.

(4) Notwithstanding anything in any act it shall not be lawful for one or more persons, for the purpose of inducing any person to work or to abstain from working, to watch or beset a house or place where a person resides or the approach to such a house or place, and any person who acts in contravention of this subsection shall be liable on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding twenty pounds or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding three months.

#### PROVISIONS AS TO POLITICAL FUND

4.—(1) It shall not be lawful to require any member of a trade union to make any contribution to the political fund of a trade union unless before the date upon which the contribution is levied he has delivered at the head office or some branch office of the trade union, notice in writing in the form set out in the First Schedule to this act of his unwillingness to contribute to that fund and has not with-

drawn the notice in manner hereinafter provided; and every member of a trade union who has not delivered such notice as aforesaid, or who, having delivered such a notice, has withdrawn it in manner hereinafter provided, shall be deemed for the purposes of the Trade Union Act, 1913, to be a member who is exempt from the obligation to contribute to the political fund of the union, and references in that act to a member who is so exempt shall be construed accordingly:

Provided that, if at any time a member of a trade union who has delivered such a notice as aforesaid gives notice of withdrawal thereof, delivered at the head office or at any branch office of the trade union, he shall be deemed for the purposes of this subsection to have withdrawn the notice as from the first day of January next after the delivery of the notice of withdrawal.

For the purposes of this subsection a notice shall be deemed to have been delivered at the head or a branch office of a trade union if it has been sent by post properly addressed to that office.

(2) All contributions to the political fund of a trade union from members of the trade union who are liable to contribute to that fund shall be levied and made separately from any contributions to the other funds of the trade union and no assets of the trade union, other than the amount raised by such a separate levy as aforesaid, shall be carried to that fund or directly or indirectly applied or charged in furtherance of any political object to which section three of the Trade Union Act, 1913, applies; and any charge in contravention of this subsection shall be void.

(3) All rules of a trade union made and approved in accordance with the requirements of section three of the Trade Union Act, 1913, shall be amended so as to conform to the requirements of this act, and as so amended shall be approved by the Registrar of Friendly Societies (in this act referred to as "the Registrar") within six months after the commencement of this act or within such further time as the Registrar may in special circumstances allow, and if the rules of any trade union are not so amended and approved as aforesaid they shall be deemed not to comply with the requirements of the said section.

(4) If the Registrar is satisfied, and certifies, that rules for the purpose of complying with the provisions of the foregoing subsection have been approved by a majority of the members of a trade union voting for the purpose or by a majority of delegates of such a trade union voting at a meeting called for the purpose, the Registrar may approve those rules and those rules shall thereupon have effect as rules of the union notwithstanding that the provisions of the rules of the union as to the alteration of rules or the making of new rules have not been complied with.

(5) Section sixteen of the Trade Union Act, 1871 (which provides for the transmission to the Registrar of annual returns by registered trade unions), shall apply to every unregistered trade union so far as respects the receipts, funds, effects, expenditure, assets and liabilities of the political fund thereof.

#### REGULATIONS AS TO ORGANIZATIONS OF WHICH ESTABLISHED CIVIL SERVANTS MAY BE MEMBERS

5.—(1) Amongst the regulations as to the conditions of service in his Majesty's civil establishments there shall be included regulations prohibiting established civil servants from be-



ing members, delegates, or representatives of any organization of which the primary object is to influence or affect the remuneration and conditions of employment of its members, unless the organization is an organization of which the membership is confined to persons employed by or under the Crown and is an organization which complies with such provisions as may be contained in the regulations for securing that it is in all respects independent of, and not affiliated to any such organization as aforesaid the membership of which is not confined to persons employed by or under the Crown or any federation comprising such organizations, that its objects do not include political objects, and that it is not associated directly or indirectly with any political party or organization:

Provided that the regulations made in compliance with the provisions of this section shall not prevent—

- (a) an established civil servant from remaining a member of any trade union or organization of which he had, at the commencement of this act, been a member for more than six months if under the rules thereof he is or may become entitled to any payment during incapacity, or by way of superannuation, or on the death of himself or his wife, or as provision for his children; or
- (b) a person who in addition to being an established civil servant is, apart from his service as such, also engaged in some other employment or occupation from being any member, delegate, or representative of a trade union or organization, of which the primary object is to influence or affect the remuneration or conditions of employment of persons engaged in that employment or occupation.

(2) If any established civil servant knowingly contravenes any of the provisions of the said regulations he shall be disqualified for continuing to be a member of the Civil Service.

(3) In this section the expression "established civil servant" means a person serving in an established capacity in the permanent service of the Crown, and includes any person who, having been granted a certificate by the Civil Service Commissioners, is serving a probationary period preliminary to establishment.

#### PROVISIONS AS TO PERSONS EMPLOYED BY LOCAL AND OTHER PUBLIC AUTHORITIES

6.—(1) It shall not be lawful for any local or other public authority to make it a condition of the employment or continuance in employment of any person that he shall or shall not be a member of a trade union, or to impose any condition upon persons employed by the authority whereby employees who are or who are not members of a trade union are liable to be placed in any respect either directly or indirectly under any disability or disadvantage as compared with other employees, and any condition imposed in contravention of this section shall be void.

(2) There shall be added to Section 5 of the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act,

1875, the following provision, that is to say:

"If any person employed by a local or other public authority willfully breaks a contract of service with that authority, knowing or having reasonable cause to believe that the probable consequence of his so doing, either alone or in combination with others, will be to hinder or prevent the discharge of the functions of the authority, he shall be liable, on summary conviction, to a fine not exceeding ten pounds or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding three months."

#### RESTRAINT OF APPLICATION OF FUNDS OF TRADE UNIONS IN CONTRAVENTION OF ACT

7.—Without prejudice to the right of any person having a sufficient interest in the relief sought to sue or apply for an injunction to restrain any application of the funds of a trade union in contravention of the provisions of this act, such an injunction may be granted at the suit or upon the application of the Attorney General.

In the application of this section to Scotland there shall be substituted therein for references to an injunction references to an interdict, and for the reference to the Attorney General a reference to the Lord Advocate.

#### SHORT TITLE, CONSTRUCTION, INTERPRETATION, EXTENT AND REPEAL

8.—(1) This act may be cited as the Trade Unions and Trade Disputes Act, 1927, and shall be construed as one with the Trade Union Acts, 1871 to 1917, and this act and the Trade Union Acts, 1871 to 1917, may be cited together as the Trade Union Acts, 1871 to 1927.

(2) In this act the expression "strike" means the cessation of work by a body of persons employed acting in combination, or a concerted refusal, or a refusal under a common understanding of any number of persons who are, or have been employed, to continue to work or to accept employment.

(3) This act shall not extend to Northern Ireland.

(4) The enactments mentioned in the Second Schedule to this act are hereby repealed to the extent specified in the third column of that schedule.

[The first schedule sets out the form of political fund contribution notice in the following terms: "I hereby give notice that I am willing, and agree, to contribute to the political fund of the — union and I understand that I shall, in consequence, be liable to contribute to that fund and shall continue to be so liable unless I deliver at the head office or some branch office of the union a written notice of withdrawal: I also understand that after delivering such a notice of withdrawal I shall still continue to be liable to contribute to the political fund until the next following first day of January."]

[The second schedule repeals the Trade Union Act, 1913, to the following extent: In subsection (1) of Section 3 the words from "and for the exemption" to "objects to contribute"; Section 5; Section 6; the Schedule.]



# The Wonders of Television

By R. W. KING

ENGINEER OF THE AMERICAN TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY AND EDITOR OF *The Bell System Technical Journal*

ONE more age-old dream was realized on April 7, 1927, when it was shown that, by means of suitable electric circuits, it is not only possible to carry a speaker's voice to any distance, but also his living, moving image as well, thus enabling one literally to be in two places at the same time. The credit for this achievement goes to engineers of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company who transmitted instantaneous images of participants in telephone conversations from Washington to New York over the long distance wires. They also transmitted songs and the images of the singers, as in broadcasting, from their radio laboratory at Whippany, N. J., to New York, so that an audience could both hear and see the artists. While talking on the telephone at Washington, Secretary of Commerce Hoover was seen and heard in New York by President W. S. Gifford of the Telephone Company.

The requirements to be met by any successful system of television have long been recognized. In fact, the ease with which these requirements can be unraveled contrasts most strongly with the difficulties which must necessarily be encountered in any attempt to translate them into terms of electrical and mechanical appliances. The present system of television—and so far as is known it is the first system to attain even a fair degree of success—may be compared to an elaborate mosaic. The apparatus used at the transmitting and receiving stations is extremely complicated and consists of many parts coordinated to a high degree of precision. For example, the synchronization between certain revolving parts of the transmitter and receiver, although these may be separated by hundreds of miles, is accurate to within one ten-thousandth part of a revolution.

When the television apparatus is analyzed into its component parts, it is found that they have practically all been available upon the shelves of the electrical engineer's pantry for years, and that some of the most indispensable elements are the product of telephone research and have been used for varying lengths of time in the rendering of the daily telephone service of a

nation. By the skillful dovetailing of these instrumentalities television has been achieved. In this sense, the system is, as has been said, an elaborate mosaic.

In the task of fitting this mosaic together, one can behold at work an integrating agency which is relatively new in human organization. So intricate was the pattern to be developed that it could scarcely have been the work of a single individual. Actually it represents the coordinated efforts of a large group of skilled scientists and engineers, by means of whose concerted attack on the wide range of problems involved a solution has been obtained in a relatively short time. As Secretary Hoover said, "the intricate processes of this invention could never have been developed under any condition of isolated individual effort."

Television as an accomplished fact has just been born, and therefore has had no history. When dissected into its component parts, however, we find that each of these has had a long and very interesting history. Considering these elements in the order in which they are called into play when transmission of a scene occurs, we take first the photoelectric cell. It was nearly fifty years ago that Heinrich Hertz, of electric wave fame, made the chance observation that the light of an electric spark would assist the passage of another spark between a near-by pair of electrodes. He showed conclusively that the light of the first spark, by some means or other, prepared the way for the neighboring spark.

Subsequent observations by many investigators, over a period of years, brought forth the explanation of this chance observation. It is that the light of the first spark, when falling upon the surface of the metal electrodes, causes these to emit electricity. By virtue of the presence of this electricity between the two electrodes, the breaking down of the air to form the second spark is greatly facilitated. The so-called alkaline metals, sodium and potassium, were found to be particularly sensitive to light, and especially when their surfaces are extremely clean and are kept so by confinement in an evacuated tube. To the evacu-



ated tube containing the sensitive metal surface the name photoelectric cell has been given.

#### LIGHT CONVERTED TO ELECTRICITY

Investigations carried on in the Bell Telephone Laboratories for some years past have been directed to increasing the sensitiveness of the cell, and the present television transmitter includes cells which are undoubtedly the largest ever made. The electrical response of a photoelectric cell is directly proportional both to its size and to the intensity of light entering it. Furthermore, it occurs practically instantaneously upon entrance of the light. For the purposes of television, it was found impracticable to increase, beyond a certain point, the intensity of light available for actuating the cells. To secure a suitably large effect the present very big cells were thus developed.

Even with the biggest cells that can be made, the electrical response due to light reflected from the scene to be transmitted is, of itself, far too small to have any practical value. It must be amplified, and to perform this operation, the vacuum tube amplifier has been called upon. So sensitive and yet so powerful is this amplifier that it magnifies the television current by 5,000-million-million fold without introducing into it any distortion whatever. The type of vacuum tube used in this amplifier was that invented by DeForest and perfected by telephone engineers for relaying message currents over the long distance lines.

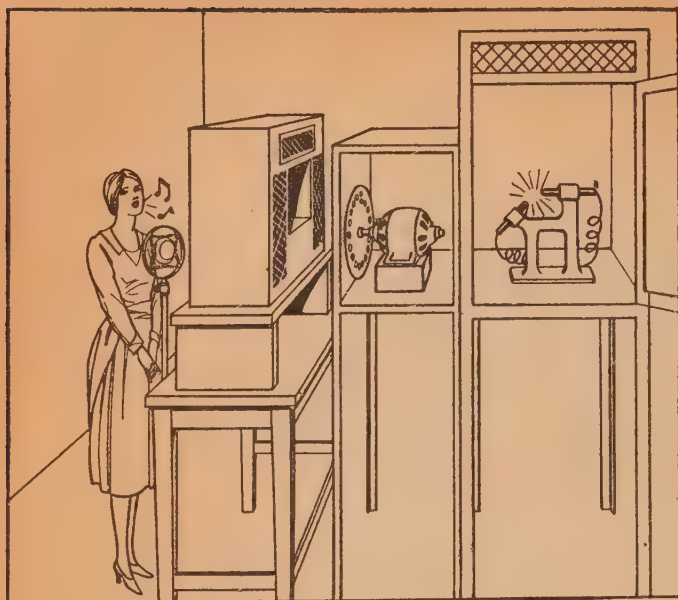
After the television current has been amplified, it must be transmitted to the distant point of reception either by a wire line or by radio. Both means were employed in the demonstration. The instrumentalities employed to accomplish its transmission have all been taken directly from the telephone art. In case a wire line is used one of the two synchronizing currents is sent by the so-called "carrier current" type of transmission. The television current itself represents frequencies ranging throughout a wide band between about twenty cycles and 20,000 cycles per second, to transmit which by wire requires a highly special telephone circuit. The voice of the speaker whose image is carried by the television current goes over a separate line, while the two synchronizing currents, one of which has a frequency of 2,000 cycles, and the other a frequency of 760 cycles modulated by an eighteen-cycle frequency, travel over a third pair of wires.

Having converted certain variations of light into variations of an electric current at the transmitting station, it is necessary to reconvert the current to impulses of light at the receiving station; then from these impulses of light to recreate an image of the subject under transmission. The re-conversion of the television current to light impulses is performed by an electric glow tube in which the source of light is the rare gas, neon. The pressure of the neon in the glow tube is less than one hundredth of atmospheric pressure. Because the source of light is a rarefied gas, there is virtually no lag between the current passing through the tube and the resulting flash of light. This, of course, is a fundamental requirement. It would not, for example, be practicable to use the television current to heat a filament to incandescence as the thermal inertia of the filament would destroy most of the correspondence between current and impulses of light. The type of discharge tube which has been found successful is not a new development. It belongs to a class of tubes long studied by physicists and generally known as Geissler tubes. Many special details of construction, however, have been introduced to adapt the tube to the present uses in television.

#### "PERSISTENCE OF VISION"

Such are some of the separate pieces of apparatus that have made television possible. Let us now consider the manner in which these respective components operate when associated together. To begin with, there is the television apparatus with which nature has provided us. Running back from the retina of the eye to the optical centre of the brain is the optic nerve by means of whose countless individual fibres nature accomplishes television, although to be sure the distance of transmission is but a few inches. Corresponding to each of the thousands upon thousands of light-sensitive cells which cover the retina there is a particular nerve fibre of the optic nerve. To transmit the image formed upon the retina back to the brain, nature therefore provides many thousands of individual circuits, each circuit being held responsible for informing the brain as to the particular degree of light and color that is incident upon its particular sensitive retinal cell.

In establishing an electrical television system it turns out that man could not profitably imitate nature by constructing an electrical analogue of the optic nerve. It needs very little study to show that the



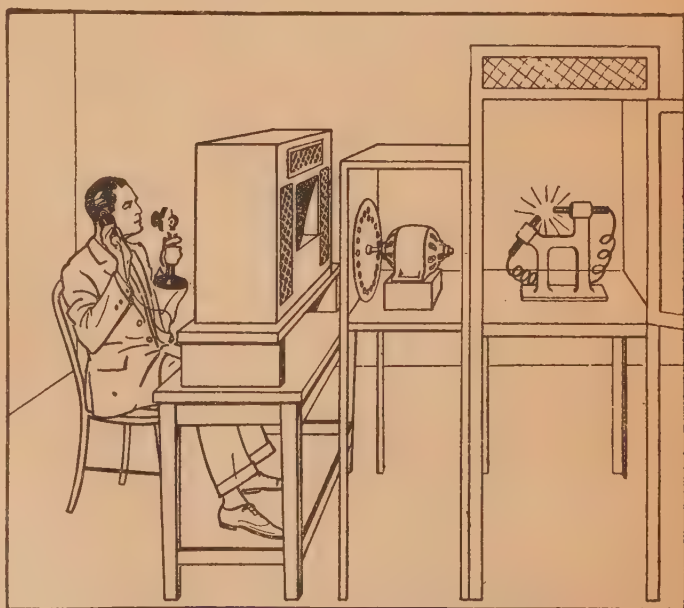
Sending apparatus at Whippany for transmission by radio

expense of this procedure would be entirely prohibitive when the distance of transmission is miles rather than inches. Fortunately the properties of the eye itself are such that a totally different and very much cheaper kind of television system is adequate. It will be recalled that "persistence of vision" designates that certain sluggishness of the eye or brain, or both, which makes it impossible for man to distinguish between a continuous visual impression and one which comes as a series of rapid flashes. This is demonstrated by the operation of the motion picture film. It is only necessary that these flashes occur at least as rapidly as about sixteen per second to appear to be continuous. Since it proves to be much simpler and cheaper, the engineers who developed television have arranged it to reconstruct sixteen complete images of a distant scene every second. Working on this basis, it is possible to use an electrical optic

nerve consisting of only one circuit instead of an extremely complex one of many thousand fibres such as nature employs.

Over this single channel the television transmitter sends a continuous stream of light impressions, or optical impulses, each impression corresponding to only the tiniest bit of the scene under observation. In fact, let us at this juncture consider the scene divided uniformly into thousands of tiny squares (2,500 are actually employed) like a piece of finely ruled coordinate paper. From each of these elements or squares the television transmitter receives a single light impulse, thus a continuous series of light impulses, each lasting but about the forty-thousandth part of a

second ( $1-16 \times 2,500$ ), becomes available for transmission over a single television circuit going to the receiving apparatus. In order to effect television the receiver must every second arrange 40,000 light impulses to reconstruct sixteen complete images. If it



Sending apparatus at Washington for transmission by wire



does so, the eye will see these sixteen images as though they were a single continuously moving image.

Although the success of television depends upon the persistence of vision of the eye, it is apparent that it depends equally upon practically a complete absence of persistence of vision in the photoelectric cell. This cell must receive and correctly convert into electric current the optical impulses coming to it at the rate of 40,000 per second. As a matter of fact, it could work at a much greater speed, and it is interesting to contrast this virtually instantaneous response of the photoelectric cell with the eye which would have difficulty in distinguishing accurately between impulses arriving at a higher rate than 5 or 10 per cent. It will therefore be observed that the success of television depends upon *instantaneous* seeing at the transmitting station and *slow* seeing at the receiving end.

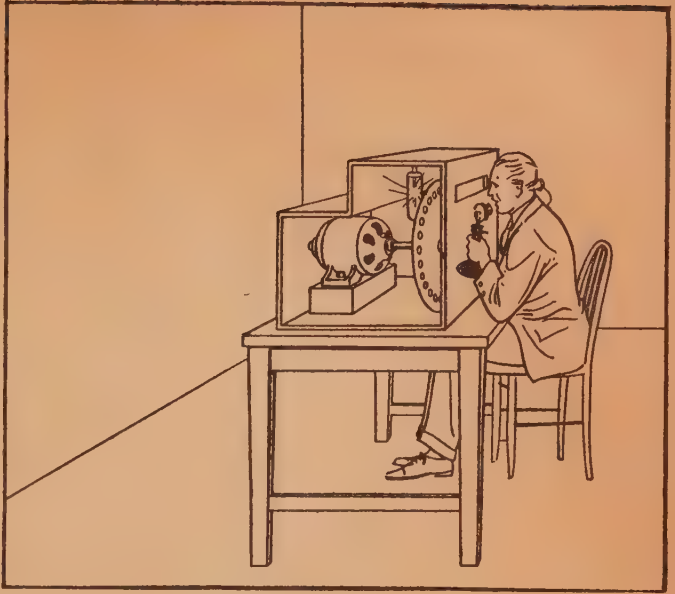


Image being received in New York from distant station by individual.

As the final requirement, the television apparatus must obviously include means to select systematically the 40,000 elementary light impressions per second at the transmitting end and arrange them according to the same system at the receiving end.

Referring to the first of the accompanying diagrams, we shall imagine that the scene to be transmitted lies within the indicated frame. The arc lamp which would normally throw a uniform flood of light upon all points within the frame, is prevented from doing this by the circular disc. This disc is pierced by a spiral array of small holes so that as the disc makes one complete revolution, the scene is scanned completely from edge to edge, each hole in turn serving as the aperture through which the light passes. Thus, while hole No. 1 is passing through the light from the arc lamp, it causes a corresponding spot of light to move across the scene in the path indicated in the

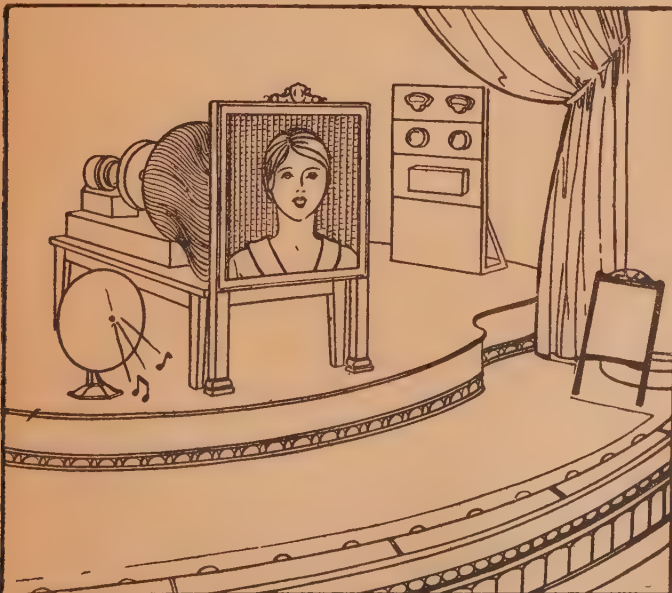


Image being received in New York from distant station by audience.

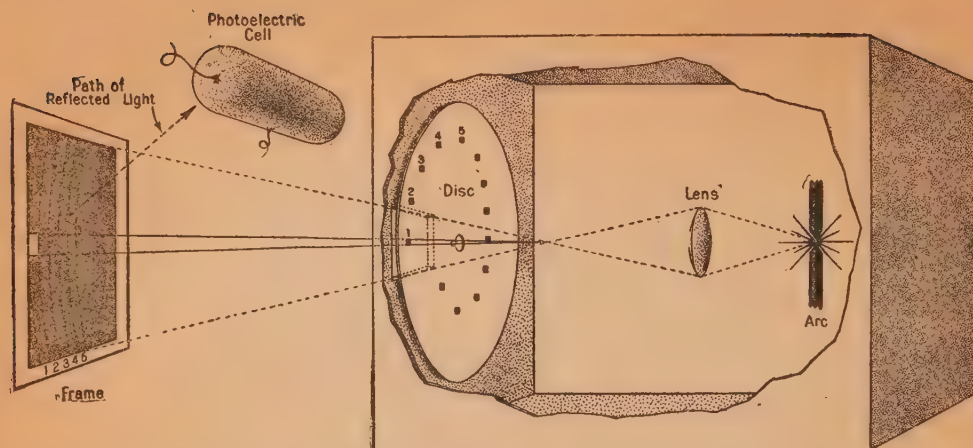


Diagram 1. The television transmitter. For the sake of clearness only one of three photoelectric cells is shown, the three being joined in "parallel" so that they act as a unit. Neither does this diagram show the motor that drives the "scanning" disc.

drawing. Likewise, the holes 2, 3 and 4 in turn cause similar spots to move along the paths 2, 3 and 4 respectively. Wherever the spot of light, it is being reflected in accordance with the character of the surface upon which it happens, momentarily, to be incident. A portion of this reflected light enters the observing photoelectric cell, where it instantaneously generates a current of electricity which is amplified and transmitted to the receiving apparatus.

The operation of the receiving apparatus is shown in diagram 2. Between the neon tube and the eye of the observer, stands a second disc identical with that used in the

transmitter. Such glimpses as the eye gets of the tube are therefore piecemeal, occurring through each hole in turn. As the transmitting disc revolves and "sprays" the scanning spot of light over the scene, the receiving disc rotates, disclosing in rapid succession corresponding portions of the illuminated field of the neon tube.

At each instant the neon tube is glowing with a brilliancy that corresponds exactly to the amount of light reflected from the observed scene. The rapidly traveling holes of the receiving disc, acting like the glowing end of a charred stick which, whirled rapidly by a boy at night, appears to form

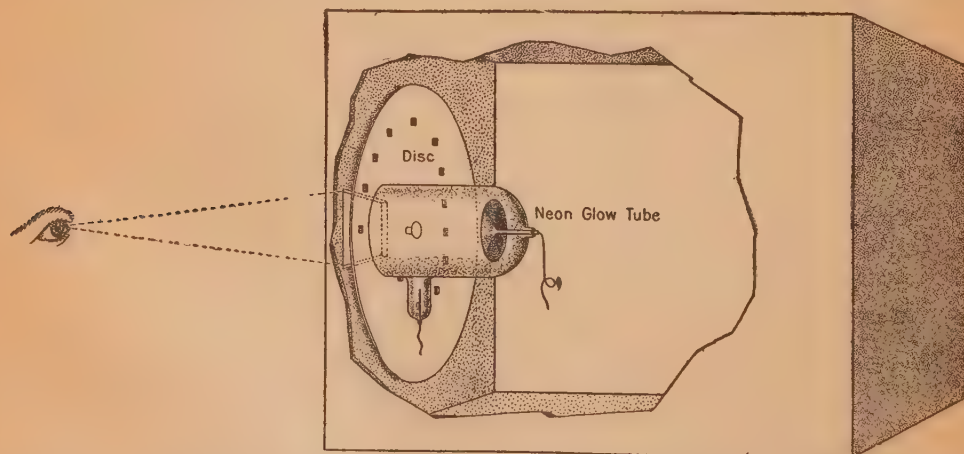


Diagram 2. The television receiver arranged for one or two observers. The neon tube is caused to glow directly by the current from the transmitting photoelectric cells after this current has undergone sufficient amplification.



a continuous circle of light, appear to reconstruct the scene before the transmitting apparatus.

One very severe requirement of television is accurate synchronization. The sending and receiving discs must rotate at as nearly equal speed as human ingenuity can make them. In the present system, the control—and so far as is known it is the highest degree of accuracy to which electrical syn-

chronization has ever attained—is such that corresponding holes of the two discs do not lose phase with one another by more than one ten-thousandth part of a revolution.

The type of receiving apparatus just considered is suitable for only one or two observers at a time. For display before an audience another type of neon tube has been developed which reproduces the distant scene upon a field about three feet square.

[RECENT SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS]

## Death-Dealing Sound Waves

By WATSON DAVIS

MANAGING EDITOR, SCIENCE SERVICE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

**D**EATH-DEALING sound waves that emulsify substances that previously refused to mix; chemicals that vitalize plants so that they wake up and start growing weeks before Spring arrives; scales that weigh the very breath that a person exhales; and heat-measuring devices that detect the ten-millionth of a degree—these new achievements of science were among those presented to the annual meeting of the National Academy of Sciences.

Professor R. W. Wood, physicist, of Johns Hopkins University, recently demonstrated that supersound waves, so high in frequency that the human ear cannot hear them, will kill a mouse. Now he finds that the "death whisper" may prove useful to industry. Things that cannot ordinarily be mixed with water, like oil, paraffin and mercury, are forced by the vibrations to become exceedingly fine suspensions or emulsions. A paraffin candle was floated on water and the current turned on. The wax melted from the surface and came down into the liquid in the form of a cloud of microscopic white drops, forming a veritable paraffin milk that could not be distinguished in appearance from real milk. In another experiment, a little mercury was poured on the bottom of the beaker full of water. The waves broke it up into drops so small that they could just be seen with the highest power of the microscope, scattered evenly through the water in a dense cloud. The mercury-water emulsion was as black as ink. Professor Wood believes that a possible future application of this newly discovered power of the "death

whisper" may be to create emulsions out of combinations of liquids that cannot be forced to mix in any other way.

The rays of inaudible sound waves are produced from slices of quartz crystal, driven by oscillating electric currents of frequencies of around 500,000 a second. They travel through any liquid or solid object and heat it as they go, but do not come out into the air. Blood corpuscles in a physiological salt solution are broken down, tingeing the whole body of the fluid a clear red; but if a tiny particle of gelatin, half a per cent. or less, is added, it somehow protects the corpuscles and they are not broken. If a block of artificially frozen ice is subjected to their action, the waves have no apparent effect on it until it is placed under pressure, when it at once breaks into a mass of tiny crystals. But a piece of pond ice, frozen under different conditions, resisted the waves and did not crumble. Professor Wood has no explanation to offer as yet for this difference in behavior. Finely powdered solids, stirred up in water to make a suspension, are driven together by the waves, until they form a closely packed round mass just under the surface.

### NERVE FATIGUE

The nerves of our body have been proved to function much as muscles do, getting tired and needing a period of recuperation. This is the conclusion drawn from work that Professor A. V. Hill, an English physiologist, reported to the academy. By perfecting an electrical heat-measuring de-

vice that is sensitive to one ten-millionth of a degree of temperature, he has succeeded in measuring the heat given off by a single nerve fibre when it became excited. Heretofore scientists have assumed that nerves were like electric wires and did not enter materially into the process. Proof that nerves give off heat changes this fundamental conception. Professor Hill further found that a nerve fibre needs a prolonged period of recovery after it has been stressed, a fact that may throw light on many physiological conditions.

#### FORCED GROWTH IN PLANTS

Chemical alarm clocks to arouse sleepy seed potatoes and other plant cuttings from their lethargy and start them into growth weeks before their usual time, were described by Dr. Frank E. Denny of the Boyce Thompson Institute, Yonkers, N. Y. Potato tubers, when freshly harvested, are dormant, and will not sprout if planted at once under growing conditions, the rest period lasting from one to four months in different varieties of potatoes. This period of inactivity may be shortened by treating the tubers with various chemicals. The gain in time of sprouting is about two to six weeks, depending on the variety of potato and the stage of dormancy at the time the treatment is applied. Twigs of apple, grape and lilac also have this dormant period in Autumn, and the buds of these species can be forced into early growth by treatment with certain of these chemicals, the gain in time of budding or blooming ranging from one to nine weeks. The chemicals used by Dr. Denny include thiocyanates, thiourea and ethylene chlorhydrin.

#### OUR DAILY LOSS OF WEIGHT

The loss in weight that we all undergo every day, mostly water given off through the skin and lungs, has been the object of research by Dr. Francis G. Benedict and Cornelia Gollay Benedict at the Boston Nutrition Laboratory of the Carnegie Institution of Washington. Two sensitive balances were used in the work. Both were strong enough to sustain the weight of a man, but sensitive enough to register small changes in weight. One of the balances would indicate a change of one-third of an ounce, and was so constructed that the volunteer for the experiment could sleep all night on its platform. The other was a hundred times as sensitive, but could be occupied for only an hour or so at a stretch.

The total moisture losses of this class from a woman of average weight were

found to average around 30 grams, or 1 ounce, per hour; for a man the figure was about one-third higher. An auxiliary device permitted the separate measurement of losses from the lungs and skin, and while these varied among individuals and from time to time in the same individual, they averaged 50 per cent. from each source of water loss. Other ingenious mechanisms measured the carbon dioxide given off, the percentage of water in the outgoing breath, and also its temperature.

#### THE "GRAVITATIONAL CONSTANT"

Astronomers can figure a little more accurately with how much force the earth and the moon pull on each other by gravity; or physicists can figure out more accurately the force with which their bodies would be pulled to the earth if they fell out of a second-story window. This can now be done by means of the new value of what scientists call the "gravitational constant" announced by Dr. Paul R. Heyl of the United States Bureau of Standards. As a result of three years' work, much of which was done in a subterranean chamber at the Bureau of Standards, Dr. Heyl has found this constant to be expressed by the fraction 6.664 over 100,000,000. The law of gravitation, stated many years ago by Sir Isaac Newton, says that two masses of matter attract each other by a force which is greater as they are more massive, and less as the distance between them becomes greater. The exact force is found mathematically by multiplying the masses of the two bodies by each other, and dividing by the distance, and then multiplying the result by the gravitational constant. As exact knowledge of the force of gravity is important in many different branches of science, all the way from study of projectiles fired from guns to study of the motion of the stars, the gravitational constant, which the physicist calls  $G$ , must be known very precisely.

About 1740, Pierre Bouguer, a Frenchman, made the first attempt to measure  $G$  by experiment, but the first determination of value was made a quarter of a century later by Nevil Maskelyne, an English astronomer. His method was to observe a plumb bob on two sides of a mountain. The mass of the mountain tended to pull the bob toward it, and by measuring the deflection of the plumb line from exact vertical by comparisons with the positions of the stars, and knowing roughly the mass of the mountain, a value could be obtained. It was not very accurate, however, because the mass



of the mountain could not be more than guessed at. At the end of the eighteenth century, Henry Cavendish, another English scientist, used the method now employed by Dr. Heyl for the first time. By this system two tiny masses are attached to the end of a rod, which is balanced at the end of a long wire. Two heavy spheres of lead near the ends of the rod pull on the little masses and twist the wire slightly. This twist can be measured by a little mirror attached to the wire. A spot of light may be reflected by this mirror across the room, and a slight twist will produce a much larger motion of the spot of light.

This was essentially the same method that Dr. Heyl has employed, but with the aid of all the improvements to be offered by a modern research laboratory. Before this the most accurate result had been obtained by Professor C. V. Boys, another Englishman, and Father K. Braun, an Austrian priest, who worked independently, each in his own country, about 1895. They both obtained the same result, with  $G$  equaling 6.66 divided by 100,000,000. In 1901, Dr. G. K. Burgess, now the Director of the Bureau of Standards, in working for his doctor's degree at the Sorbonne, Paris, tried the experiment and obtained 6.64 instead of 6.66, but as this was done under pressure of time it was not very accurate. Dr. Burgess realized this, and when he became Director of the bureau, he saw to it that the experiment was performed more accurately than had ever been done before. This, Dr. Heyl has now completed, confirming, as far as they went, the results of Professor Boys and Father Braun, and carrying the value to another decimal place in accuracy.

#### SOLAR RADIATION

What seems to be a solution of the problem of how the heat and light radiated from the sun vary was announced by Dr.

C. G. Abbot, Acting Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. While it has been known for nearly a century that the sun undergoes an eleven-year cycle, during which sun spots wax and wane, and that the intensity of the radiation follows somewhat in step, the correspondence is not close enough to permit advance predictions of what the radiation will be. Dr. Abbot took values for the intensity of solar radiation found by the Smithsonian's Astrophysical Observatory for a period of seventy-seven months ended October, 1926. These were analyzed by Dr. Dayton C. Miller of the Case School of Applied Sciences, in an ingenious machine of his invention, known as the harmonic analyzing machine. The results show that there is a marked period of about twenty-five and two-thirds months and two others less strongly marked of fifteen and two-fifths months and of eleven months. The combination of these periods produces a very complicated variation, which has hitherto been supposed to be without any regularity whatever. As the sun affects terrestrial conditions, such as long-range radio reception, and as it has already been found that the world's rainfall average undergoes a variation of fifteen and two-fifth months, corresponding with the one Dr. Abbot has found in solar radiation, he is hopeful that prediction of the intensity of solar radiation, and the effects attendant on it, may soon be possible.

As President of the National Academy of Sciences, one of the highest offices to which an American scientist can be elected, Professor T. H. Morgan of Columbia University will serve during the next four years. Professor Morgan is one of the world's foremost authorities on heredity processes and evolution. His researches at Columbia upon the relation of the chromosomes, the minute but important elements of living cells, to the processes of heredity have opened a new field of science.



# The Mississippi Flood

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

PROFESSOR EMERITUS OF GOVERNMENT, HARVARD; CHAIRMAN, BOARD OF CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATES

**S**ELDOM has the country been interested in or startled by so many arousing events, not concerned with war and Congress, as during the current month. The prenomination campaign for nomination of President is now undergoing a lull. As yet Governor Al Smith has not directly demanded from President Calvin Coolidge a statement for publication as to his views on a third term; so that something is still left for the two coming conventions to think about.

Public interest has been focused on three outstanding judicial processes before the courts, namely the prosecutions of various actors and producers in New York City; the Sacco-Vanzetti proceedings; and the Snyder-Gray murder case.

The new padlock law in New York State puts the relation of the community to places of amusement on the common sense and scriptural basis of "The soul that sinneth, it shall die." That is, as the public understands it, neither manuscripts nor productions are subject to a preliminary supervision; simply if spectators or the police or the press declare that particular dramatic performances are licentious and damaging to the community, those responsible for directing or performing may be held to legal accountability, as was borne out in the sentencing of the producers and principal actors in the play "Sex." This will tend to extinguish the practice in many theatres of introducing language or business, or interpolating whole scenes, not discoverable in the manuscript of the play.

The Sacco-Vanzetti case is one of the most remarkable in the history of criminal jurisprudence in America. For seven years the question of whether or not those two men were guilty of a murder has been the subject of long-drawn and repeated legal proceedings, contested and appealed at every possible point till the highest court of the State of Massachusetts has decided that there is no legal reason for delaying the execution of the two prisoners. As this article goes to press it seems altogether likely that the extraordinary and extra-legal method of a review of the whole matter and

a finding by a commission of advisers to Governor Fuller will be instituted. If that method is adopted, it means that the decision of the commission will be accepted by the Governor; else what is the use or purpose of such a commission? This introduces a super-pardoning power which seems necessary in this particularly involved and difficult case, but ought not to be a precedent for Massachusetts or any other State.

The Gray-Snyder case sounds like a lurid fiction drawn from the annals of the worst and most corrupt period in medieval Italy. The deliberateness of the savage execution of the murder, the squalid bickerings and contradictions between the two murderers, the putting on the stand of an innocent child, the readiness of each of the principals to involve and betray the other—all that is the kind of thing that used to happen in the gloomy alleys of the Borgo in Rome. The lust for murder has never been extinguished in human nature since the time of Cain; but the trial reveals the part of the most modern business methods in accenting a serious crime, for an insurance company and its agent appear to have taken a risk of \$100,000 upon a human life without inquiring into the character of any of the parties concerned, so long as the premiums were duly paid, though never paid by the person insured.

The thing uppermost in the minds of the reading and thinking American millions to May 5 was the terrible floods of the Mississippi River and its tributaries. Efforts have been made to show that the immense losses of valuable property and still more valuable lives are due to some neglect or oversight of officials—their failure to foresee the flood and control the great water course. The truth is that the Mississippi River, like its sister stream, the Hoang Ho in China, has for ages been subject to the rise of water in the Spring. It is fed from several systems of rivers heading several thousands of miles from the mouth, and when there is high water at the same time on the Ohio, the Tennessee, the upper Mississippi, the Missouri, the Arkansas and the Red River, that means pro-



digiously high water on the lower Mississippi. The theory that the Mississippi builds up its bed until the bottom of the stream is higher than the country behind the levees is entirely and literally without foundation. The bottom of the Mississippi is always lower than the country outside its banks, but the level of the surface of the flowing stream is frequently much higher than the back country. The levees are essentially earth banks, backed in some cases at particularly exposed points by sheets of concrete placed by the United States Government; but the Mississippi River is no respecter of persons nor of slabs of concrete. If the water rises high enough and the pressure is great enough a crevasse inevitably relieves the pressure and the adjacent territory is bound to be submerged. The only course that the water can take is then to rampage through the country and fill up a tributary which in its turn may break its levees.

People talk of building reservoirs at the head waters to hold the superfluous water; but, as government officials point out, in order to be effective those reservoirs must be so broad as to devastate as much land as would be saved from devastation a thousand miles down the river. Concrete linings may prevent a break at a particular place, but will not save the countryside from flood unless the concrete were to be extended hundreds of miles at a cost of thousands of millions of dollars.

The amazing richness of the soil in the lower Mississippi, and particularly in the delta of the Yazoo, is a perpetual temptation to clear and till land which is almost

certain to be flooded as often as once in five or ten years; indeed, in many cases the stream in flood deposits on the soil the life-giving elements which produce the heavy crops. Floods of the Mississippi, and of similar immense rivers which in the course of ages have built up their own deltas of fertile soil, cannot be prevented. Even if new and higher levees were built a half mile further back on each side, moreover, that mile-wide strip would be cultivated every year until washed out by a big flood. One possible way of improving conditions is contained in the suggestion that a new system of levees should serve as the road-bed for the railroads along either bank by which weak points could easily be reached in time of need.

It is curious that the problem of high water in the South is hardly more troublesome than the problem of low water in the North. The level of the three great lakes, Michigan, Huron and Erie, appears to have lowered five inches in recent years, and that takes five inches off the available draught of the immense lake tonnage.

The whole land has for years been kept in confusion and turmoil by conflicts of interest between the favorers of water and those who prefer other potable fluids. Curiously enough, the dries are strongest in the watery stretches of the lower Mississippi valley; and the wets are in force in the cities of the Great Lake basin and other areas (such as New York City) which have a direct water connection with the lakes.

Evidently what we most need is an adjustment and redistribution between the too wets and the too dries.

#### [INTERNATIONAL EVENTS]

## Foundations Laid for Arms Limitation

By JAMES T. GEROULD

LIBRARIAN, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY; CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

THE Preparatory Disarmament Commission has adjourned, to meet again at the call of the Chairman, probably soon after the next session of the Assembly. If the record that it has left behind seems barren, it has not been due to any lack of industry on the part of the delegates. Since March 21, except for a short recess at Easter, there were at least one and frequently two sessions daily and private con-

ferences innumerable. The debates were almost always friendly, even though the views expressed were, in the highest degree, inharmonious. Every one realized that, both geographically and politically, the necessities of the Continental group were different from those of Britain and America; and that their opponents in the argument were bound by rigid instructions. Unanimity was seldom reached; and again and



A VOICE IN THE DARK  
—Adams Service

again a deadlock was the only result of hours of debate. Even when there was agreement, the acceptance was often loaded with reservations permitting the renewal of the objections at the second reading.

It may, nevertheless, prove true that Lord Cecil has a saner view of the result than some of his carping critics. He said to the newspaper men after the adjournment:

The Preparatory Commission has carried out the chief part of what it set out to do. It has drawn up a scheme for the reduction and limitation of armaments. It is true that the figures of armaments have yet to be filled in, and that will be a task of no little difficulty. But it has always foreseen that this could not be accomplished at this session. The broad outline of the scheme has been established. On some points reserves have been made by various countries. On other points alternative texts have been provided. Even so, it is a great thing that such differences as remain have been defined and restricted. The issue has now passed from the hands of the commission to those of the general public. It is to them that the appeal must be made.

Even though the results are meager, there is no cause for discouragement, except, perhaps, for those who have expected the impossible. Negotiations such as these, involving conflicting national interests and based on the thesis still widely believed—though the Great War would seem to have proved the contrary—that security is conditioned by large armaments, cannot immediately be fruitful. The nations, if they are

to have a real disarmament, must attain the will to peace. No useful purpose would have been served by agreements within the conference which did not reflect the general opinion of the nationals whom the delegates represent. Had the French delegates agreed to a material weakening of the military supremacy of France on the Continent, or had the English dared to tamper with the British sea power, they would promptly have been repudiated. At the present time the most that can be hoped for is measures that will discourage competition in armament, make it less burdensome to the taxpayer and less menacing to the world.

To attain even this minimum is not easy. The Preparatory Commission has done little more than explore the ground and report what bridges must be built, what hills leveled. If the nations are sincere (and there is no reason to believe that they are not) the results will be given careful study; and when the delegates reassemble they will be prepared for a degree and a character of negotiation and compromise that is now impossible.

During the month of April the commission discussed the substance of the draft conventions representing respectively the views of the French and the British groups. The alignment of the delegates was the same as earlier. France could count on the support of most of the smaller Continental States. Italy generally played a lone hand and its attitude was seldom helpful. Germany and Sweden were ordinarily inclined to support the Anglo-American ideas, but on occasion made strong representations of their own points of view.

The first week was largely given over to the discussion of aircraft. England desired the admission of a distinction between those attached to the navy and those based on the shore, claiming that the former should be considered in connection with naval limitation, and Japan supported England in this view. M. de Broukère, however, remarked with some humor that, if he were in a region where bombs were falling from the air, it would make little difference to him whether the plane from which they were dropped had a base on land or on the sea. It was finally agreed to limit aircraft, both in number and horsepower, and, in addition, airships in volume. An agreement was also reached on April 4 regarding the relation between civil and military aircraft; this followed closely the recent report of the International Committee on Civil Aviation and provided for the complete separation of the two types; if nationally subsidized they



must have civil direction, military features must not be embodied in the construction nor may military personnel be employed.

On April 5 the commission turned to the consideration of naval armament. M. Paul Boncour suggested a compromise on the vexed question of global limitation versus limitation by classes, which would include the global idea, but would provide for the publication of naval programs covering the life of the treaty and for fixed ratios between ships and men. Gibson and von Bernstorff spoke in support of the idea, but General de Marinis, the Italian delegate, declared that his Government would go no further than to publish the facts regarding each new vessel when construction was begun.

The limitation of military budgets, as proposed by the Civil Subcommittee, came up for discussion on April 6 and the two days following. This was opposed by the United States as impractical and unjust, and Germany expressed the same opinion. On the last day of this debate von Bernstorff renewed his attack on the Allied nations for failing to live up to the implications of Article 5 of the Versailles Treaty and of Article 8 of the Covenant in regard to the reduction of armament. M. Paul Boncour, in reply, called attention to the fact that in both documents reduction of armament was coupled with security. The resolution finally adopted declares that it is to the general interest that war budgets be limited, but that as no way of accomplishing it has been found, publicity both as to budgets and expenditures is recommended.

Von Bernstorff on April 9 endeavored unsuccessfully to secure an agreement regarding the direct limitation of seven categories of matériel and the publication of figures regarding the stocks on hand. He was strongly supported by Gibson and by the delegates of Sweden and Holland, but opposed by those of France, Belgium, Rumania, Yugoslavia and Finland.

Later in the same day Paul Boncour presented an elaboration of his plan for naval limitation. Each nation should state what tonnage it considers as essential in each of four categories—ships of the line, airplane carriers, surface vessels of less than 10,000 tons and submarines. Each contracting party might modify its distribution upon notification of the Secretariat of the League at least a year in advance of the beginning of construction. In an impassioned address on the morning of the 11th Lord Cecil offered to accept the essentials of the French program for the land and air

in exchange for an agreement with the British position regarding the sea. The French proposal, he believed, would nullify the results of the Washington Conference and would lead almost inevitably to competition. With dogged persistency, however, France refused to yield.

#### INTERNATIONAL CONTROL ISSUE

On April 13 the vexing question of control was reached. Alike in little else, the French and the British draft treaties agreed that some sort of international supervision is necessary. From the outset the United States has declared that it could not agree to such control. It may be remarked, parenthetically, that the functions of the proposed agency do not differ materially from those of the international commission for the control of opium and other drugs that our Government has strongly advocated. Be that as it may, in this case Mr. Gibson argued that, as international treaties depend for their fulfillment on the good faith of the nations signing them, "any attempt to control, direct, investigate or inquire within the territory of a high contracting party will inevitably tend to foster mistrust and suspicion." He asserted that the United States is opposed to such control measures

primarily because we believe them unsound and unworkable. We cannot divest ourselves of the idea that the only practical way to disarm is actually to disarm, and that the most effective sort of treaty is one which specifies the disarmament provisions upon which Governments are able to agree and leaves to their



These two boys can stand lots of heat  
—NEA Service



### THE WONDERS OF TELEVISION

—Editors' Feature Service

good faith the enforcement of these provisions. In this connection I desire to remind the commission that there is a disarmament treaty which has now been in effect for four years and which, dependent for its enforcement solely upon international good faith, has been observed by all the high contracting parties in the most faithful and scrupulous manner.

Mr. Gibson conceded, however, and this marks an advance from his former position, that, as the United States is not a party to the League, it would not object to such a convention binding as between its members.

If they are able to reach an agreement among themselves on measures for utilization of League machinery and believe that they will be efficacious we would not stand in the way of their adopting such measures as they may deem desirable, no matter how impractical they may appear to us. If, therefore, all the other Governments here represented desire the machinery of an international body to deal with the enforcement of the treaty, and insist upon it for themselves, and if any way can be found to accomplish what they desire for themselves and at the same time to eliminate the feature of international machinery, so far as the United States is concerned, my Government is ready to cooperate with them in a sincere endeavor to solve that problem.

A similar objection to control on the part of Italy, however, blocked the acceptance of the compromise. From another point of view there is objection from the States of Eastern Europe, who fear that Russia, should she join in the compact, would demand a like exemption.

Mr. Gibson's instructions in regard to the

supervision of the private manufacture of arms were of such a character as to lead him to refuse to meet with the committee charged with the duty of drafting a convention covering the subject. He had been directed to refuse to join in any such compact unless State manufacture was included, and to this Japan and Italy interposed a violent dissent. The committee was compelled, therefore, to prepare two alternative drafts, representing both points of view, which are later to be submitted to the Council.

When the commission reassembled on April 21 after the Easter recess the discussion turned to the subject of reserves of war matériel. A Dutch proposal for annual itemized reports was, in a moment of inadvertence, adopted, but immediate objection on the part of France and Japan caused its reconsideration. In the debate on the day following Germany declared that she would not sign any convention that failed to limit reserves of matériel; that this was one of the fundamental obligations of the Versailles Treaty and that the obligation was bilateral. There is little doubt that if a fairly satisfactory disarmament treaty is not adopted Germany will claim that she is released from the obligations accepted under duress at Versailles. Notwithstanding this, the French draft of the section was adopted.

### RESULTS OF CONFERENCE

The commission adjourned on April 26. Further discussion at this stage would have been futile. Each nation has stated its case and it is safe to assume that it represents the maximum of its demands. From now on there will be all sorts of unofficial and official consideration of the results. It may be that the Economic Conference, which convened on May 4, will reach conclusions that will be helpful for, in the final analysis, many of the problems of disarmament have an economic base.

It is possible, too, that the Three-Power Naval Conference in June will contribute materially to a solution, even though France and Italy are absent. An exceedingly interesting suggestion was that made in the French Chamber of Deputies on April 7 by a group of Conservative and Royalist members, who united in urging the total abolition of battleships, battle cruisers and, under certain considerations, of submarines as well, the limitation of cruisers to a tonnage of 10,000, their guns to the calibre of 8 inches and the establishment of fixed ratios for the national fleets. France



should have, they believe, a Mediterranean fleet equal to that of Italy and an additional allowance for her Atlantic seaboard.

Budget conditions in Great Britain are such that the Government is anxious to lighten the present naval burden, and it is reported that the Admiralty has well defined plans ready to submit to the Naval Conference providing for limitation in size, both for cruisers and submarines, and for restriction in number subject to agreement with other European powers.

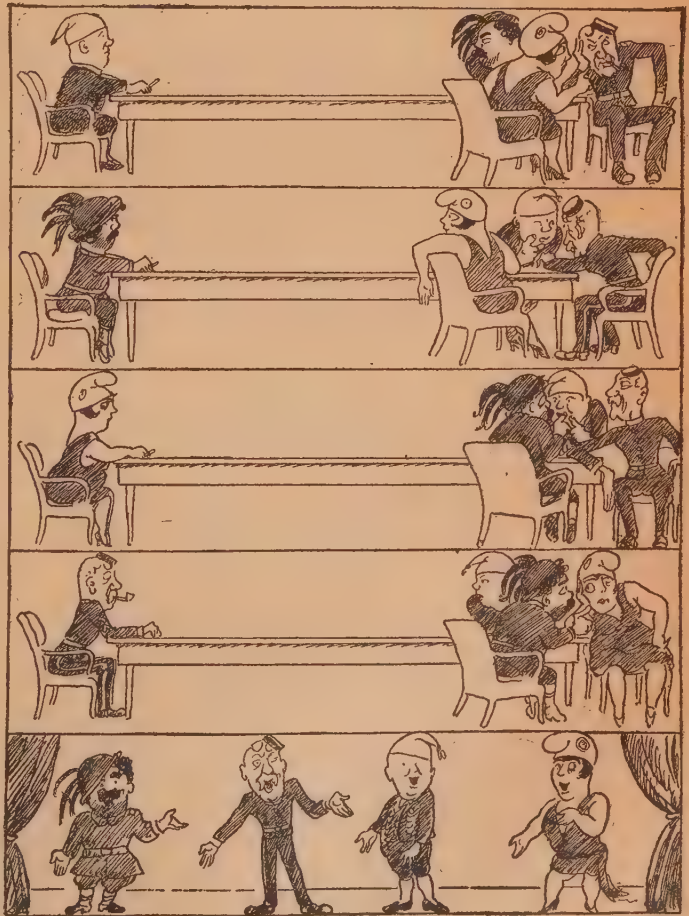
#### RUSO-SWISS DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

The renewal of diplomatic relations between Russia and the Swiss Republic makes it likely that the Soviets will be represented at the session of the commission next Autumn. While their presence may not add to the harmony of the occasion, the uncertainty caused by their absence is still more disturbing.

A whole series of interesting possibilities are implicit in the offer made by Briand on April 6, the tenth anniversary of the entrance of the United States in the World War. "France would be willing," he said, "to subscribe publicly with the United States to any mutual engagement tending to outlaw war as between these two countries." Although there was little immediate comment, the letter of Nicholas Murray Butler, calling attention to the offer, which was printed in *The New York Times* on April 25, aroused a large amount of discussion both here and abroad. French opinion seems generally to favor the plan, for it is, after all, merely an enlargement of the principles of Locarno. The reception of the idea by members of our Senate and by the press may be said to be cordial but cautious, for it is realized that such a treaty, made with France alone, might be dangerous, however beneficent it might be

if generally extended. It is recognized, too, that such a treaty without adequate machinery for composing international differences, would be valueless, and thus far we have been singularly neglectful of opportunities to join with other nations in any such undertakings. The League of Nations Non-Partisan Association adopted resolutions favoring acceptance at a meeting in New York on May 1.

The International Economic Conference of the League of Nations, at which forty-six nations, including the United States, Turkey and Soviet Russia, were represented, held its opening session on May 4. At the time this article went to press proceedings were not sufficiently advanced to allow any report of its deliberations to be made.



Pictures without words from the League of Nations Assembly at Geneva.

—Kladderadatsch, Berlin

# Aspects of the Presidential Campaign

By WILLIAM MacDONALD

LATELY LECTURER ON AMERICAN HISTORY, YALE UNIVERSITY; CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

A NATION-WIDE discussion of certain aspects of the Presidential campaign has overshadowed all other domestic political interests in the United States during the past month. On the Republican side the controversy has centred about the question of Mr. Coolidge's willingness to accept a renomination in 1928 and the effect of the so-called third-term tradition upon his chances of election in case he were nominated. On the Democratic side the principal subject of debate has been the informal candidacy of Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York, a Roman Catholic in religion and, on the question of national prohibition, a moderate "wet."

In an open letter to Governor Smith, published in the April number of the *Atlantic Monthly*, Charles C. Marshall of New York, a member of the Protestant Episcopal Church, challenged Governor Smith to show that his allegiance to the Roman Catholic Church was not inconsistent with his loyalty to the Constitution and laws of the United States. According to Mr. Marshall, the theology and laws of the Catholic Church assumed that the Church was above the State and that the binding force of its decisions, in temporal as well as spiritual matters, involved an obligation on the part of Catholics to obey the Church rather than the State in any case of fundamental disagreement between the two jurisdictions. The letter also criticized the attitude of the Church in regard to education and the action of ecclesiastical tribunals in annulling marriages.

Mr. Marshall's contentions, supported by citations from ecclesiastical authorities, obviously could not well be ignored, and in the May number of the same magazine Governor Smith made a vigorous reply. Disclaiming any ability to speak with authority on questions of theology or Church law, he summoned to his aid on those points the Rev. Francis P. Duffy, widely known and respected as the Catholic chaplain of "the almost wholly Catholic 165th Regiment in the World War." For himself, on the other hand, Governor Smith declared that, as far as his public career was concerned,

he had never known any conflict between his official duties and his religious belief, and that "no such conflict could exist;" that he had been almost continuously in office as an elective official since 1903, had nineteen times taken the oath of office in New York and had four times been elected Governor. "During the years I have discharged these trusts," he said, "I have been a communicant of the Roman Catholic Church. If there were conflict, I, of all men, could not have escaped it, because I have not been a silent man but a battler for social and political reform. \* \* \* No man, cleric or lay, has ever directly or indirectly attempted to exercise Church influence on my administration of any office I have ever held, nor asked me to show special favor to Catholics or exercise discrimination against non-Catholics."

In closing, Governor Smith summarized his creed as "an American Catholic." Affirming his belief in "the worship of God according to the faith and practice of the Roman Catholic Church," he at the same time recognizes "no power in the institutions" of that Church "to interfere with the operations of the Constitution of the United States or the enforcement of the law of the land." He believes in "absolute freedom of conscience for all men," in the legal equality of all Churches, sects and beliefs "as a matter of right and not as a matter of favor," and in "the absolute separation of Church and State." "No tribunal of any Church," he further declared, "has any power to make any decree of any force in the law of the land, other than to establish the status of its own communicants within its own Church." The public school received his support "as one of the cornerstones of American liberty," at the same time that he reserved to parents the right to educate their children in religious schools if they so choose. To these affirmations was added the statement that he believed "in the principle of non-interference by this country in the internal affairs of other nations and that we should stand steadfastly against any such interference by whomsoever it may be urged."



Governor Smith's reply, which had been eagerly awaited, was in general well received by the press and elicited a good many expressions of approval from representatives of other faiths. Political leaders, on the other hand, were more cautious in their comments, and it was apparent that the letter, while gratifying to the twenty million Catholics whom Governor Smith represented, had by no means removed the religious issue from the Presidential campaign. A second letter from Mr. Marshall, dated April 17, evinced a desire to shift the controversy from Governor Smith to the Church itself and emphatically disclaimed any intention on the part of the writer "to suggest the placing of a ban against candidacy for office because of religion." Governor Smith declined to pursue the subject further.

Debate over the Marshall-Smith correspondence was accompanied, in Democratic circles, by a somewhat anxious scrutiny of the chances of a Smith candidacy. A representative of William G. McAdoo, surveying the field about the middle of April, went so far as to predict 463 votes for Smith in the Democratic National Convention, against the 368 votes which represented his maximum support on any ballot in the New York convention of 1924. Other observers, some with more and some with less reliance upon statistics, professed to



Come around next Winter when he has more time  
—Philadelphia Inquirer

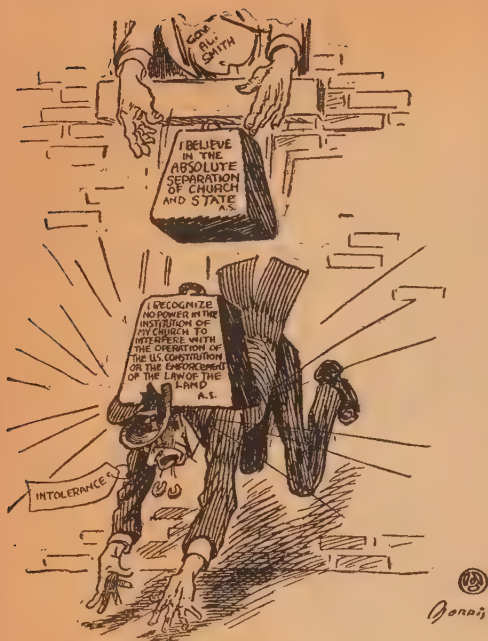
see Smith leading Coolidge in New England and gaining strength in the Middle West, but with slight support beyond the Mississippi and on the Pacific Coast. There appeared to be general agreement that the Smith candidacy was far from popular in the South, not merely because of the reluctance of that section to accept a Catholic candidate, but also because the South has thus far seemed strongly averse to putting the cause of national prohibition in jeopardy by endorsing a "wet."

The net result of the Smith controversy, mixed as the controversy was with uncertainty regarding the intentions of Mr. McAdoo, a pronounced "dry" who played a leading part in the Democratic convention of 1924, was to leave the Democrats in a quandary. On the religious issue, whose agitation many members of both parties deplored, the party was divided sectionally, at the same time that the Democratic "drys" were outspoken in their opposition to any "wet." Suggestions, brought forward late in April, that both the religious and the prohibition issues should be gotten rid of by eliminating both Smith and McAdoo, found little favor, and, in the absence of a candidate comparable to Smith in national reputation or personal popularity, the Democratic race remained open to the "favorite sons" of sections and States. Of these, Governor Ritchie of Maryland,



Messenger: "Any answer, lady?"

—The New York Times



A WEIGHTY ANSWER  
—Adams Service

already prominent as a champion of State rights, has been most frequently mentioned.

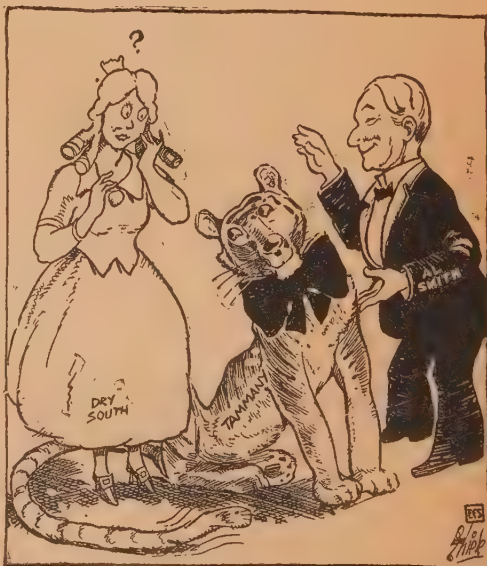
### THE THIRD TERM ISSUE

With the Democrats divided over candidates and issues, public opinion, without regard to party, has more and more inclined to view the renomination of Mr. Coolidge as a foregone conclusion. The announcement on April 14 that the Administration was planning a new farm-relief bill, which, it was hoped, would be acceptable to Republican and Democratic conservatives as well as to the McNary-Haugen following, was regarded as evidence that Mr. Coolidge had recognized the seriousness of the agricultural situation and was undertaking to win back the political support in the agricultural States which his veto of the McNary-Haugen bill was thought to have alienated. The bill, as outlined tentatively by Senator Fess of Ohio, an Administration spokesman, would carry an appropriation of some \$250,000,000, to be loaned by cooperative marketing associations to farmers for marketing purposes, to enable them to hold surplus crops for better prices, but without the equalization fee and virtual Government price-fixing to which Mr. Coolidge had objected.

The weightiest objection thus far raised

to the renomination or re-election of Mr. Coolidge has been the third term tradition. Senator Fess, in a statement given out on April 16, declared that "Coolidge will break another precedent once regarded as very significant," and "will be the first to be nominated and elected to the Presidency to serve longer than eight years." "The grounds against a third term," due to "the memory of George III despotism," were once "appealing," but "long ago the fear of the man-on-horseback discontinued," "the compelling reasons have ceased to exist," and "the same reasons which would justify a second term may justify an additional term." "The force of precedent is weakening in every province of government," and "the simple reason that a certain course of action has been a rule in the past is not conclusive of its uninterrupted continuance."

Senator Fess's criticism of one of the oldest of American political traditions, in substance only an amplification of a similar prediction which he made several weeks before, harmonized with the general tone of newspaper comment that was noted immediately following the close of the last session of Congress. It was pointed out at that time that the first "term" of Mr. Coolidge comprised in fact only the last nineteen months of the term for which President Harding had been elected—a period considerably shorter than that of any Vice



Love me, love my tiger  
—Albuquerque (N. M.) Journal



President who has succeeded to the Presidential office. The declaration of President Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia University, in an address to a Republican club in New York City on Feb. 7, that "that President has served two terms who has twice taken the oath of office," had apparently fallen flat as far as inducing support from Republican leaders was concerned.

On April 21, however, in a statement to *The New York Times*, Senator Norris of Nebraska, a leading liberal or "insurgent" Republican, vigorously attacked the third term movement, and declared that it represented "a long step toward a monarchical form of government."

Already in the Southern States the Republican machine, which is universally admitted to be corrupt, is preparing to send Coolidge delegates to the next Republican convention. They are doing this as a payment for the Federal offices which they now hold and control. The same influence can be extended to every town and hamlet in the United States. When this influence is combined and used for the perpetuation in office of the head of our Government it is a danger to free institutions and strikes at the very root of democracy.

Senator Norris's attack was not reinforced by others of similar character and Mr. Coolidge naturally continued to withhold any intimation of his own attitude.

The issuance of numerous statements by prohibition leaders, commending or attacking the attitude of candidates regarding the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead



"No, thanks; we are safe enough"  
—Memphis Commercial Appeal

act, indicated a determination on the part of the "drys" to keep the prohibition issue prominent. Bishop James Cannon Jr., Chairman of the Board of Temperance, Prohibition and Public Morals of the Methodist Episcopal Church, declared in an elaborate statement given out at Paris on April 15 that while prohibition "has not been and is not today a partisan political issue," the "wetness" of Governor Smith and Governor Ritchie eliminated them both as Democratic candidates. The general counsel for the Anti-Saloon League, Wayne B. Wheeler, announced on April 23 that either Mr. Coolidge or former Governor Lowden of Illinois would be acceptable to the league as Republican nominees and that Senator Glass of Virginia, Mr. McAdoo, former Senator Owen of Oklahoma, Governor Donahey of Ohio, Senator Barkley of Kentucky or former Secretary of Agriculture Edwin T. Meredith of Iowa would have league support if nominated by the Democrats. A letter urging the Democratic women of the country to work for the defeat of Governor Smith was sent out on May 1 by Mrs. Ella A. Boole, President of the National W. C. T. U., to the State Presidents of that organization. Press organs of the union were quoted as saying that Governor Smith was not "merely



This complicates things considerable  
—NEA Service



It won't hold water, but—  
—New York Tribune

slightly moist," but "as wet as the Atlantic Ocean."

#### OF NATIONAL INTEREST

The most disastrous flood in the history of the Mississippi Valley, beginning about the middle of April and still continuing in unabated force when this review was prepared, has wrought vast destruction of property and brought loss and suffering to hundreds of thousands of people in Illinois, Kentucky, Missouri, Arkansas, Tennessee, Mississippi and Louisiana. The river, swollen to record volume by heavy rains, has swept in a mighty torrent toward the Gulf, overflowing and breaking through the levees built to protect the low-lying areas, deluging millions of acres of farm land, inundating towns and villages, and forcing the inhabitants to flee.

By April 24 it was estimated that 80,000 people had been made homeless and that more than 6,000,000 acres had been submerged. By May 4 the population affected numbered over 300,000, while further breaks in the levees had increased the flooded area in Arkansas, Mississippi and Louisiana to 15,000 square miles. Approximately one hundred persons were known to have been drowned.

With the river nearly at the top of the levees at New Orleans and higher water

approaching, Governor Simpson of Louisiana on April 26 declared an emergency and asked authority from the War Department to cut the levee below the city in order to afford an additional outlet for the flood and save the city from inundation. The necessary permission was granted by the Mississippi River Commission at Vicksburg and on April 29, under the direction of army engineers, a section of the levee at Poydras, fifteen miles below New Orleans, was dynamited. The immediate result of this and later breaches was the flooding of half a million acres of farm land and marshes, at an estimated loss of \$2,000,000, which the State was expected to repay, but the danger to the city was averted.

#### FLOOD RELIEF MEASURES

As soon as the seriousness of the situation was realized the American Red Cross, at the direction of President Coolidge, took charge of the work of relief and the resources of the Federal Government and the States affected were mobilized. An appeal for funds issued by the President on April 22, which it was expected would bring in \$5,000,000, was followed on May 2 by a second appeal, which stated that at least \$10,000,000 would be needed and that relief work would have to be continued for many weeks.

A Cabinet committee consisting of Secretaries Hoover (Chairman), Mellon, Dwight F. Davis, Wilbur and Jardine was



ELEPHANTIASIS  
—New York World



appointed by the President on April 22 to plan and direct the relief undertaking, and a personal inspection of the situation was made by Mr. Hoover. The committee reported on May 2 that the crest of the flood was still seven days from its outlet to the Gulf, that about 200,000 persons had been rescued or removed to places of safety and that practically every person in need of relief was receiving it. State troops and police had insured the maintenance of order, large fleets of river boats had been assembled at danger points and vigorous steps were being taken to prevent the spread of disease.

#### NEW AVIATION RECORD

A new world record for a non-stop endurance flight in a heavier-than-air machine was completed on April 14 by Bert Acosta and Clarence D. Chamberlin, civilian pilots. The time was 51 hours 11 minutes and 20 seconds.

The Sesquicentennial Exposition at Philadelphia, with debts aggregating more than \$5,000,000, was placed in the hands of receivers on April 23 by a Federal District Court.

Albert J. Beveridge, former Senator from Indiana and famous as an orator and a writer, died at Indianapolis on April 27, aged 64. An account of his career appears elsewhere in this issue. The death of Charles M. Hough, 68, senior Judge of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals,



WHOSE DOG?

—Adams Service

Second Circuit, occurred at New York on April 22. Hudson Maxim, inventor, scientist, author and explosive expert, whose discoveries revolutionized modern warfare, died on May 6.

#### PULITZER PRIZES

The Pulitzer prizes in journalism and letters for 1926 were awarded, as announced on May 2, to Louis Bromfield for "Early Autumn," adjudged the best novel; Paul Green for "In Abraham's Bosom," the best play; Samuel Flagg Bemis for "Pinckney's Treaty; a Study of America's Advantage from Europe's Distress, 1783-1800," the best book upon the history of the United States; Professor Emory Holloway for "Whitman: An Interpretation in Narrative," the best American biography, and Leonora Speyer for "Fiddler's Farewell," the best book of verse. The prize for "the most disinterested and meritorious public service rendered by an American newspaper" was awarded to *The Canton Daily News*, Canton, Ohio, whose crusade against vice conditions was marked by the assassination of its editor, Don R. Mellett. *The Boston Herald* won the prize for the best editorial; John T. Rogers of *The St. Louis Post-Dispatch* was awarded the prize for the best example of a reporter's work—his inquiry leading to the impeachment of Judge George W. English, and Nelson Harding of *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle* won the award for the best cartoon.



Some kind of prohibition law is certainly needed here

—NEA Service

# Manufacturing Ill Will Between the United States and Mexico

By CHARLES W. HACKETT

PROFESSOR OF LATIN-AMERICAN HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS; CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

MEXICAN officials were reported on April 6 to have expressed the opinion that certain interests have been trying in every way possible in the last half year to force a break between the United States and Mexico. One way by which it is claimed that this has been attempted has been by attacks on American citizens in Mexico, so as to give enemies of Mexico in the United States an opportunity to charge that Americans in Mexico are not protected and that their lives are endangered. In support of this contention Mexican officials point to the kidnapping last September of Jacob Rosenthal of New York and his subsequent murder when Federal troops closed in upon his abductors, who were demanding a ransom of 10,000 pesos. In this case hostile sentiment against Mexico was nullified by action of the Mexican Government in meting out swift justice to those connected with the Rosenthal outrage. Within eight days of Rosenthal's murder all but one of the kidnapping gang had been captured, and of these all but one had been summarily executed.

More recent outrages against American citizens in Mexico have been cited by Mexican officials as further evidence of a plot to make it appear that American lives in Mexico are endangered. With reference to the murder of Edgar M. Wilkins, an American, who was captured on March 27 and held for a few days for a ransom of 40,000 pesos, Mexican Government officials on April 2 charged that Wilkins had been kidnapped and murdered in a deliberate plot carried out by enemies of President Calles to embarrass him and cause trouble with the United States. In this case, also, justice was promptly meted out by the Mexican Government. On April 6 the Department of State was advised that Mexican Foreign Minister Sáenz had informed the United States Embassy in Mexico City that Mariano Calzada and six companions had been convicted by a court-martial and shot on April 4 by the military authorities at Guadalajara for the murder of Wilkins.

The day after the execution of the murderers of Wilkins at Guadalajara the Mexico City police arrested five men, headed by former General Federico Córdova, who had been suspected for several days of engineering a plot for the kidnapping of Albert E. Watts, Vice President of the Sinclair Consolidated Oil Corporation and head of the Mexican Sinclair Petroleum Corporation. All five of the men are reported to have made a complete confession of the plot, but Córdova is reported to have refused to name the real authors of the conspiracy. A special dispatch from Mexico City published in *The New York Times* of April 7 states that Mexican "officials regard the plot against Mr. Watts as most serious. Mr. Watts is a high official of the Sinclair company, which, although generally believed to be friendly to Mexico, has failed to comply with the new oil regulations. Had he been kidnapped and killed it is regarded as certain that the crime would have had a tremendous effect on the relations between Mexico and the United States."

A second way by which unknown clever and daring conspirators have endeavored to force a break between the United States and Mexico has come to light since the latter part of March. On the 28th of that month *The New York Times* revealed that in January of this year stolen documents that had passed between the United States Government officials in Washington and United States officials in Mexico had come into the possession of President Calles after they had been altered by the addition of forged portions which made it appear that the United States Government was making plans either to foment a revolution in Mexico or to bring about a war with that country.

Additional information bearing upon this matter was revealed in April. Richard V. Oulahan, Washington correspondent of *The New York Times*, reported to that paper on April 7, in part, as follows:

This pilfering was conducted on a wholesale



scale, as nearly or quite 300 documents belonging to the United States Government were stolen. These documents were turned over to President Calles, who, when the fact that he had them became known to the United States Government, delivered them to the State Department.

Included in this large batch of confidential papers was a considerable number of reports of a military nature, most of them supposed to have been taken from the office of the Military Attaché of the Embassy in Mexico City. \* \* \* From what is known of the matter, it is evident that a skillfully arranged effort to obtain confidential documents pertaining to the relations of the United States and Mexico has been in progress for some time. There are features of it as intriguing as elements of a fantastic novel having to do with international plotting.

President Calles is credited with having expressed indignation over the contents of some of the documents. He is said to have declared that they contained not only unfriendly expressions toward his régime, but showed sympathy with revolutionary movements in Mexico. The particular parts of the documents to which the Mexican President took exception are alleged to have been forged.

The State Department's examination of the documents turned over to this Government by President Calles is said to have proved that the forgeries were committed through interpolations in genuine papers stolen from the files of the United States Government. \* \* \*

Officials declined to furnish any information along this line, except to declare that none of the notes exchanged between the State Department and Ambassador Sheffield showed hostility to President Calles or his régime.

Two days after having sent the above information to *The New York Times* Mr. Oulahan reported in part as follows:

In its international aspect the Administration regards as a closed incident the discovery that hundreds of confidential documents have been pilfered from the American Embassy in Mexico City and turned over to President Calles for the suspected purpose of creating a serious breach in the relations of the two Governments. \* \* \* A better feeling appears to prevail in the relations of the United States and Mexico. \* \* \* Assurances of this Government that it had no hostile intent toward the Calles régime or was seeking to foment revolution in Mexico \* \* \* are said to have been accepted in good faith by President Calles.

Following the disclosure that there had been thefts and forgeries of official documents belonging to this Government, the Department of State began an investigation. On April 14 Lieut. Col. Edward C. Davis, Military Attaché to the American Embassy at Mexico City, arrived in Washington. Two days later the Department of State issued a statement which may be regarded as tantamount to an admission that certain of its correspondence relating to Mexico had been stolen and tampered with. The communiqué of the Department of State follows:

Some time ago the Department of State indicated to the War Department its desire to confer with Colonel Davis at some convenient time when he should be in Washington. The War Department communicated with Colonel Davis and arranged for him to be in Washington this week.

Colonel Davis called at the State Department this afternoon and Assistant Secretary Olds discussed with him, as he had previously discussed with Consul General Weddell and members of the staff of the American Embassy in Mexico, the matter of the alleged thefts and forgeries of official documents in Mexico City.

Colonel Davis's visit to Washington is incidental to the investigation which the State Department and the War Department are carrying on with a view to arriving at the facts and satisfactorily clearing up the situation.

Since the issuance of the above statement no further information has been available concerning the matter.

In an address before The United Press in New York on April 25 President Coolidge reviewed the relations between the United States and Mexico since 1857, in so far as they have been affected by the status of American investments in Mexico. With reference to the present diplomatic *impasse*, President Coolidge asserted that it was "solely because of our understanding"—secured by the United States-Mexican Commission of 1923—"that our property rights would be respected that recognition of the Government of President Obregón was granted on Sept. 3, 1923." Because President Calles "refuses to be bound by what we thought was the understanding arrived at with President Obregón," President Coolidge stated that the correspondence was closed—reference here being to the note of Secretary Kellogg to Mexican Foreign Minister Sáenz, Oct. 30, 1926—"by notifying the Mexican Government that we stood squarely on the understanding made with President Obregón, and we expected it not to take any action that would deprive American citizens of their property rights."

With specific reference to the new alien land and petroleum laws, President Coolidge, after having previously made the broad assertion that "the person and property of a citizen are a part of the general domain of the nation even when abroad," said:

It is a cardinal principle of law that private property should not be taken without fair compensation. \* \* \* Under the Constitution of 1917, and by-laws and regulations for carrying it into effect, we feel that Mexico is threatening to disregard this great elementary principle by undertaking a retroactive application of their Constitution to property of our citizens acquired long before their Constitution was adopted.

With reference to the question of arbitrating the differences between the United States and Mexico, President Coolidge said:

The Senate recently passed a resolution supporting the protection of American life and property and suggesting resort to arbitration. We have at present two commissions of arbitration with Mexico, and the principle of arbitration has always been strongly advocated by our Government. Everybody favors arbitration when the question at issue is arbitrable. Under the present circumstances I can see grave difficulties in formulating a question which the two Governments would agree to submit to such a tribunal. The principle that property is not to be confiscated and the duty of our Government to protect it are so well established that it is doubtful if they should be permitted to be questioned. Very likely Mexico would feel that the right to make a Constitution and pass laws is a privilege of her sovereignty which she could not permit to be brought into question. It has therefore seemed that we are more likely to secure an adjustment through negotiation.

In conclusion, President Coolidge referred optimistically to the possibility of reaching an "amicable adjustment" with Mexico. He said:

I am glad to report that the Mexican Ambassador has recently declared to me that Mexico does not intend to confiscate our property; that she has shown diligence in capturing and punishing those who have murdered our citizens, and expressed the wish, which we so thoroughly entertain, of keeping cordial and friendly relations.

*The Excelsior* of Mexico City commented favorably on the speech, but emphasized the fact that the United States in helping Latin America must avoid making the nations seem protectorates.

The long-standing conflict between the Mexican Government and the Mexican Catholic Episcopate culminated late in April in the expulsion of Archbishop Mora y del Rio, titular head of the Mexican Catholic Church, and a number of other Mexican prelates. The reason cited by the Government for bringing the conflict between Church and State to this climax was as follows:

On April 19 a passenger train, en route from Guadalajara to Mexico City, was derailed and attacked near Limón, State of Jalisco, by a large rebel force. Approximately 100 passengers were slain or were burned to death in the wreck, and all but four of the train's military escort of 52 soldiers were killed. Survivors of the tragedy who reached Mexico City on April 21 told the United Press that the attackers wore small pictures of the Virgin of Guadalupe; other survivors told *The Associated Press* that the attackers shouted the Catholic rebel war-cry, "Long live Christ the

King." Brig. Gen. Carrillo, who reached the scene of the outrage several hours after it had occurred, officially reported to President Calles that the bandits were "headed by the priests Vega, Pedroza and Angulo, with a lawyer named Loza, a Commissioner of the League for the Defense of Religious Liberty, and a bandit nicknamed 'No. 14.'"

Upon receipt of details of the disaster General José Alvarez, Chief of Staff to President Calles, announced officially on April 20 that the attack was by

a group of bandits organized by the Catholic Episcopate \* \* \* who wish to be the spiritual directors of the nation and take over the power. \* \* \* It is an exact repetition of the proceedings which the Catholic Church has used from the Inquisition down to the present day.

Vigorous denial of these charges was made by members of the Catholic Episcopate in Mexico City on April 21. Archbishop Ruiz Flores of Michoacán declared:

If it is true that the assailants of the train committed the cruelties attributed to them by the Government \* \* \* they deserve the reprobation of the entire world. In no case is the Church responsible for their actions, but those are responsible who have brought about this situation and have given and are giving an example of similar attacks. We hasten to deny the assertion that the band which attacked the train was organized by the Catholic Episcopate.

Notwithstanding the above denial, Archbishop Mora y del Rio of Mexico City, Archbishop Ruiz y Flores of Michoacán and Bishops Uranga of Cuernavaca, Valdespino y Díaz of Aguascalientes, Anaya of Chiapas and Echeverría of Saltillo were arraigned before Minister of the Interior Tejada on the evening of April 21, charged with rebellion. Minister Tejada told the prelates—according to a statement made by Archbishop Mora y del Rio after he had reached the United States—that they had been accused of rebellion by the League of Religious Freedom and that a letter, written by the Bishop of Durango, which had fallen into the possession of the Government, proved that the priests of Mexico were in league against the Government and were plotting revolt. To this Archbishop Mora y del Rio replied:

We have aided no revolution. We have plotted no revolution, but we do claim that the Catholics of Mexico have the right to fight for their rights by peaceful means first and with arms in an extremity.

By way of reply Minister Tejada said:

That statement constitutes rebellion against the Government and you will be deported from the country.



To this Archbishop Mora y del Rio replied:

The present Government is not a legal Government. The world knows how it came to power and history will tell the story of its fall.

After the sentences of deportation the six prelates were placed almost immediately upon a train bound for Laredo, Texas, where they arrived on April 23. The day that they crossed the border into the United States the Mexican Government issued the following statement:

After conferences with the principal prelates of the Mexican Episcopate, these same prelates, facing grave charges based upon undeniable proofs and facing the possibility of submitting to trial, agreed to leave the country, no doubt to avoid responsibility.

The above statement was characterized as "utterly false" by the six exiled prelates when it was made known to them. In a joint statement they declared:

It was not proposed to us either to submit to a judicial verdict or leave the country.

The Minister of the Interior at 8 P. M. intimated to the prelates that by order of President Calles they should leave the country because the episcopate was considered an agitator of the rebellion.

We refuted the charge before Minister Tejada, assuring him that the episcopate has limited itself to stating that the Catholics are in their right to defend themselves against the tyranny that oppressed them.

The deportation of other prelates followed that of Archbishop Mora y del Rio.

The Mexican Government took prompt action to apprehend the attackers of the passenger train in Jalisco, and on April 25 the War Department was advised that 60 members of the bandit group had been killed in a five-hour engagement with Federal troops and that a priest had been captured and executed. Reports of May 3 stated that 70 more had been killed or captured.

A repetition of the outrage committed against the passengers of the Guadalajara-Mexico City train was averted on April 24 when Federal troops defeated in a half-hour battle outlaws who attacked a Mexico City-Laredo passenger train.

Former General Rodolfo Gallegos, one of the chief rebel leaders, was killed by Federal forces at Los Organos on May 5.

Powers tantamount to those of finance dictator were conferred by President Calles on Finance Minister Montes de Oca on April 24. He will have the power "to propose and dictate laws and agreements and regulations which he deems expedient and to lease property of the nation which may be used for commercial purposes, excepting churches, Federal buildings and memorials

which are covered by the law of 1902." The purpose of such action is to avert a threatened "unfavorable balance in the budget and a heavy deficit," occasioned "by the diminishing normal income and the necessity of spending large sums which are being invested in works for the benefit of the country." The President's decree further provides that "the total amount of budget expenses, with the exception of the public debt, must not exceed 250,000,000 pesos during the current fiscal year." Payment of interest on the foreign debt in accordance with the Pani-Lamont agreement of Oct. 23, 1925, will be made, but the decree authorizes a suspension of interest payments on all domestic debts.

Political disturbances in Chihuahua in mid-April culminated in the deposition by the State Legislature of Governor J. A. Almeida—who was charged with rebellion against the Government—and the appointment of M. Mascarenas Jr. as Provisional Governor. Mayor García of Chihuahua City and Mayor Almeida of Juarez—a brother of the deposed Governor—were also forced to relinquish their offices, and on April 19 all three were arrested at Alpine, Texas, charged with having entered the United States illegally, but were later released.

Mexican Minister for Foreign Affairs Aarón Sáenz tendered his resignation to President Calles on April 23 in order that he might conduct his campaign for the Governorship of Nuevo León. President Calles declined to accept the resignation, but instead granted the Foreign Minister an indefinite leave of absence.

## Nicaragua

**HENRY L. STIMSON**, former Secretary of War, sailed for Nicaragua on April 9 as President Coolidge's personal representative and peace emissary. According to an announcement issued by the Department of State on April 7, his immediate duty was to convey to United States Minister Eberhardt and Admiral Latimer "certain views of the Administration which cannot conveniently be taken up by correspondence and get information from them as to the entire situation in that country for the use of the Government which they cannot very well give through correspondence." Mr. Stimson arrived at Corinto on April 18 and held conferences in Managua with the Conservative President, Señor Díaz, his advisers and United States naval and diplomatic officials, and on April 30 with delegates sent by Dr. Juan B. Sacasa,

President of the Liberal Government at Puerto Cabezas.

On May 3 he proceeded to Tipitapa for a conference with General Moncada, commander of the Liberal forces, a two-day truce having been declared. It was first reported that the result of the conference was a deadlock over the continuance of Diaz as President, but on May 5 General Moncada stated to an Associated Press correspondent that "in view of the fact that the United States is prepared to take the field against us if fighting continues, I am prepared to order my troops to lay down their arms." Official opinion in Washington, however, discredited the idea that any actual threat of force had been made. Mr. Stimson, on May 6, reported very substantial progress toward peace.

Preceding these negotiations, reverses of a serious nature had been experienced by the Liberals. Admiral Latimer reported to the Navy Department on April 14 that more than 200 Liberals were killed in fighting with the Conservatives on April 10 and 11, and that they had lost 90,000 rounds of ammunition, rifles, seven machine guns and three field pieces, and had destroyed other equipment to keep it from falling into the hands of the Conservatives. The Conservative Government informed Admiral Latimer on April 15 that its forces had captured 184,000 rounds of ammunition for small arms and eight machine guns, thereby reducing to ten the number of machine guns possessed by the Liberal leader, General Moncada. Managua dispatches of April 20 indicated that various Liberal bands were resorting to guerrilla warfare.

The establishment of Matagalpa as a neutral zone was decreed by Admiral Latimer on April 18 when he learned that the Liberals were planning to attack that city. A detachment of 325 marines was stationed there to prevent fighting within 2,000 yards of the bounds fixed for the neutral zone and to protect about 100 Americans and an equal number of other foreigners who reside there.

In his address delivered before The United Press in New York on April 25 President Coolidge reviewed the recent relations between the United States and Nicaragua as follows:

Our relationship to Nicaragua I have set out in detail in a message to the Congress. For a dozen years we kept a force of marines in that country at the earnest solicitation of its Government. During this time the people were peaceful, orderly and prosperous and their national debt was greatly reduced. Almost at

once after I withdrew the marines revolution was started. Finally a President was designated by the Congress which appeared to us and to other Central American countries to have a constitutional title, and we therefore recognized him. As the disorders continued, on his representation that he was unable to protect American lives and property, I sent a force of marines for that purpose. Their presence has undoubtedly prevented the larger towns from being pillaged and confined the fighting for the most part to uninhabited areas. We have sold arms and ammunition, as we did in the case of Mexico [in 1924], to the Nicaraguan Government. The revolutionary forces appear to have received arms and ammunition from some source in Mexico. With a hope that we might be furnished with information which would better enable us to deal with the situation, I have sent Henry L. Stimson, former Secretary of War, to that country. Meantime, it is reported that the Government forces have been apparently successful in driving the revolutionists from the field.

In addition to the private property of our citizens which is employed in lumber and agricultural operations, our Government has secured the right to construct a canal and establish a naval base, for which it paid \$3,000,000. Contrary to the general impression, there are no oil properties in this country. Nevertheless, I have seen cartoons that pictured it as filled with oil derricks. Our country consumes vast quantities of oil and gasoline in its use of automobiles, gas engines and oil-burning furnaces. If these products are to be kept within a reasonable price, which is very important to a great body of our citizens, our people who go abroad to develop new fields and to increase the supply ought to have the encouragement and support of our Government. We are not making war on Nicaragua any more than a policeman on the street is making war on passers-by. We are there to protect our citizens and their property from being destroyed by war and to lend every encouragement we can to the restoration of peace. While the destruction of life and property has been serious enough, had it not been for the presence of our forces it would undoubtedly have been much worse.

Toward the Governments of countries which we have recognized this side of the Panama Canal we feel a moral responsibility that does not attach to other nations. We wish them to feel that our recognition is of real value to them and that they can count on such support as we can lawfully give when they are beset with difficulties. We have undertaken to discourage revolutions within that area and to encourage settlement of political differences by the peaceful method of elections. This policy is bound to meet with some discouragements, but it is our hope and belief that ultimately it will prevail. This territory is rich in natural resources, and under orderly Governments is capable of a development that will give to its inhabitants all the advantages of modern civilization. It is a curious circumstance that some of those who have been willing to have us take mandates over far-off countries in Asia, where we have no interest that does not attach to all humanity, are most critical when we are attempting to encourage the maintenance of order, the continuity of duly established government and the protection



of lives and property of our own citizens under a general reign of law in these countries that are near at hand and where we have large and peculiar interests.

## Cuba

**P**RESIDENT GERARDO MACHADO of Cuba entered the United States at Key West, Fla., on April 20 for a visit of several weeks' duration. He proceeded directly to Washington, where he was received and entertained by President Coolidge, Secretary of State Kellogg and the Governing Board of the Pan-American Union. Soon after his arrival he declared in an interview that "the eventual modification of the Platt Amendment embodied in the permanent treaty between the United States and Cuba would be beneficial to both countries," and later, in a formal statement, asserted that the object of his visit in the first place was "to evince his sympathy toward the American people upon the twenty-fifth anniversary of the establishment of

the Republic of Cuba." He also stated that he was "cooperating in order to give the greatest importance to the forthcoming Pan-American Conference, which will be held in January of next year in the City of Havana, and keenly desires that, if it be possible, both the President and Secretary of State Kellogg, in a spirit of Pan-American good-will, will visit the neighboring Republic of Cuba during the holding of that congress." President Machado was careful to explain that acceptance of acts of courtesy by himself during his visit to New York would "not bear any relation to Cuban finances, either national or private," since "the policy of the present Government of Cuba is contrary to the contracting of any loans."

The resignation of Major Gen. Enoch H. Crowder as United States Ambassador to Cuba, to take effect on Sept. 1, was officially announced in Washington April 12. General Crowder has been Ambassador to Cuba since early in 1923.

[SOUTH AMERICA]

## Currency Reforms in South America

By HARRY T. COLLINGS

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**R**EFORM of currencies and national banking systems is spreading throughout South America, where instability of paper currencies has been for decades a source of difficulty. Without adequate gold reserves, these currencies have proved inconvertible, and the business depression of 1920-25 has contributed toward rendering the situation more acute. Colombia and Chile have, accordingly, established new banking systems within the past three years, and Ecuador and Brazil are now inaugurating similar changes. With the exception of Brazil, in which the financial advisers were members of a British mission, these currency reforms have all been brought about in accordance with the advice of Professor Edwin W. Kemmerer of Princeton University.

Ecuador is passing through a period of economic transition, its major agricultural crop, cacao, which in previous years constituted 70 per cent. of the country's total exports, having recently declined over 50 per cent., and this has been aggravated by

unsettled political conditions. The military Government which was established in July, 1925, directed its attention to the condition of banks which had loaned money to the deposed Government against the issue of bank notes. Investigation revealed not only that the amounts loaned were excessive but also that the banks had endeavored to meet obligations by pressing private creditors. This contraction of private credit, together with the contraction of the notes in circulation, brought on general credit stringency, so that bank notes in circulation at the end of 1925 amounted to only 37,270,760 sucres (about \$6,000,000).

The central Bank of Issue, established in 1925, failed, and by Government decree the *Caja Central de Emision y Amortizacion* (Central Office of Issue and Redemption) was set up on June 23, 1926. As a private corporation with Government representatives on its directorate this office had as its avowed object the unification of outstanding bank notes and the creation of an elastic currency. However,

it was able to do little in the face of depressed conditions reflected in the sinking of the sucre to \$0.17, the par of exchange being \$0.487. It was this situation which the Kemmerer commission was called to remedy. Dr. Kemmerer and his colleagues ascertained that the economic condition of Ecuador is sound; that basically the country is prosperous, and that better economic organization and the elimination of politics from Government finance will soon restore national prosperity.

On March 4, 1927, accordingly, the President of Ecuador signed a decree establishing in the city of Quito a new bank to be known as the Banco Central del Ecuador, with an initial maximum capital of 10,000,000 sucres (\$2,000,000), to be subscribed to by the existing commercial banks and by the public. Shares of the Class A type must be taken by existing banks to the extent of 15 per cent. of their capital. Banks not becoming members of the new institution must liquidate. Class B shares are to be subscribed to by the public in cash. Major branches are to be established in every city having a population exceeding 80,000. At present, Guayaquil, the chief port, is the only city entitled to a major branch. Minor branches may be established in any place at the discretion of the Board of Directors of the Banco Central.

The new bank, modeled after the Federal Reserve Bank of the United States, is the fiscal agent of the Government and the sole depository of Government funds, and has a monopoly of note issue for fifty years. The notes will represent gold sucres with a value of 20 cents, and will constitute unlimited legal tender.

The currency reform and the new banking system constitute the reorganization scheme proposed by the commission. Twenty-four new laws outlined by the advisory group have been favorably acted upon by the Government, and currency reform is actually inaugurated.

The troubled state of finances in Brazil is of long standing. Financial difficulties antedated the World War, since Brazil incurred a large foreign debt for railway construction and other public works, and after a period of rapid expansion experienced hard times, depreciated currency and unfavorable foreign exchange rates before 1914. A chief source of revenue was from taxes on rubber and coffee, the two leading exports, and Brazilian rubber has suffered through the development of plantation production in the East Indies, and

coffee has been depressed in price for twenty years. Therefore the Brazilian Government has long planned to bring about currency reform by establishing the country's monetary system on a gold basis and stabilizing foreign exchange rates, thus affording business interests a surer foundation. To this end a British financial commission was invited to make an economic and financial survey, and acting on its advice President Bernardes during the latter part of his Administration (1922-26) began a definite policy of currency contraction. Dr. Washington Luis, who became his successor in office on Nov. 15, 1926, continued the policy and supplemented currency contraction with banking and currency reform legislation which looked toward stabilization, both financial and industrial.

This legislation, known as the Stabilization act, and passed Dec. 18, 1926, created a new currency unit, the "*cruzeiro*," a gold coin equivalent to about four milreis (one milreis equals approximately 0.12). The second step in the program authorized the Bank of Brazil to buy and sell foreign exchange for account of the national Treasury. This was practically Government maintenance of foreign exchange rates with a rate of \$0.1197 per milreis decided upon as the stabilization figure. The third link in the improvement chain authorized redemption of paper money in circulation at the rate of 200 milligrams gold for each paper milreis, the exact date and form of redemption being left to Presidential decree, which decree must precede redemption by six months, and the exportation of gold being prohibited until its promulgation.

The initiation of the program of currency reform has produced a wholesome effect in Brazil. Immediately following the announcement of the new Administration's policy (November, 1926), domestic prices of coffee rose, thus improving the business tone as well as purchasing power. Contraction of the currency has hampered industrial life and lowered production somewhat, but business men realize that the move is a salutary one and absolutely essential to ultimate prosperity.

The Third Pan-American Commercial Conference, with three hundred delegates representing all the Latin-American countries, held sessions in Washington during the week of May 2. President Coolidge in his welcoming speech stressed the fact that the settled policy of the United States is to assist the Latin-American countries—



"not to control them, but to cooperate with them," since "equality of all is the basis of our policy." He also emphasized the duties which the United States owes its sister republics, and the advantages accruing from trade which leads to friendly relations.

At the session of May 4 the high tariff wall of the United States was attacked by Luis Duhau, President of the Argentine Rural Society, who declared that the present high rates smother interchange and urged frank revision. His statements were challenged by John H. Fahey, former President of the United States Chamber of Commerce.

The good-will fliers arrived in Washington April 30 and were received by President Coolidge and diplomatic representatives and decorated with the Distinguished Flying Cross for their flight around South America.

## Bolivia

**WILLIAM A. REID** of the Pan-American Union, writes regarding the death of Ignacio Calderón, late Bolivian Minister to the United States, on April 26, 1927:

The magical wand of progress touched the heart of a continent when, in 1904, Bolivia sent as Minister to the United States Don Ignacio Calderón. The Bolivian Republic at that time had no foreign debts, no modern highways and virtually no railways. The old stage coach and its six mules lumbering along so-called roads formed the connecting link between Bolivian cities and the outside world.

Señor Calderón relinquished the post of Minister of the Treasury in the Cabinet of the late General José M. Pando, then President of Bolivia, and, once settled in Washington, began to negotiate loans.

The borrowing of big capital was a new and bold undertaking for Bolivians, but Señor Calderón and a coterie of far-seeing men believed that their country's progress was impossible without modern means of communication. A few months after Señor Calderón's arrival in the United States, \$10,000,000 of American capital became available for beginning a system of railway construction. The line from Guaqui, on Lake Titicaca, to La Paz, sixty miles, was completed. During the next decade railway construction in Bolivia was active. Additional capital and equipment moved southward from the United States, even California and Oregon furnishing thousands of ties. La Paz, Oruro, Cochabamba, Potosi

and other centres of trade were connected by rail, thus opening new areas of rich mineral lands.

But every nation has people who oppose progress; Bolivia was no exception. Many believed the railroads would ruin the country; laboring classes said such monstrosities would "take bread out of their mouths"; politicians opposed the Government's startling outlays; Cabinet Ministers resigned and portfolios changed. But the man in Washington representing Bolivia hurled back to La Paz and to his detractors such bombs of progress—such stories of how railroads make rising States and greater nations that his arguments could not be refuted—they prevailed.

Señor Calderón was more than a local Bolivian, even in 1904. He had served as a Secretary of Legation in Rome, he passed through the Commune at Paris. As a delegate from Bolivia to the Centennial at Philadelphia in 1876, he not only represented his country, but also traveled extensively in the United States.

Señor Calderón was born in La Paz, where he obtained a classical education, which was vastly broadened by foreign travel and historical investigation. Thus we glimpse the mental and practical equipment that he brought to Washington in maturer life. From 1904 to 1921 he served as a member of the Diplomatic Corps at the American capital, making occasional voyages to his homeland and to other nations. In Canada, Cuba and in many cities of the United States he delivered addresses to business men, college students, women's clubs and in a hundred other ways interpreted the "soul of South America to the soul of North America." It was he who long ago suggested the practical solution of the Tacna-Arica problem by allowing Bolivia to purchase a route to the Pacific from the claimants—Chile and Peru.

A man of sterling character, of determination, of a high sense of honor, a student of history, a hater of revolution. It was not surprising, when Bolivia, in 1921, allowed the flame of peaceful revolt to alter the Government, that the resignation of Señor Calderón was quickly cabled to La Paz. He could not serve a cause in which he did not believe.

Although retired to private life, "Don Ignacio's" home in Washington continued to be the council chamber for the discussion of many inter-American problems. Business interests also claimed much time in his advancing years. He lived to see the consummation of his dream—of Bolivia

being linked by rail by at least four outlets to the oceans and to the world. The Bolivian Government proclaimed a day of official rest as the body of the deceased statesman was borne to the tomb in the City of Washington. A mighty factor in Pan-Americanism has fallen, but the works he fathered and the inspiration of his life go marching down the years.

## Chile

THE provisional Government under General Ibañez, which continued in power during April while the President was on his enforced "vacation" of two months, entered a new phase on May 4 with the announcement of the resignation of President Figueroa.

The Government continued its avowed policy of repressing radicalism in Chile. Señor Beltran Mathieu, Chilean Ambassador in Washington and now representative of his country at the Court of St. James, was asked on April 10 to resign because his views were at variance with those of the new Government. Señor Don Miguel Cruchaga, Chilean Ambassador to the United States, resigned under circumstances which indicated a disagreement with the new Government on the Tacna-Arica question, though the official an-

nouncement stated that the resignation came "as a matter of routine accompanying the change of régime." The Chilean Government promptly requested him to retain his post—a request which is tantamount to approval of policies which he has pursued.

The budget for 1927 was approved in April. Receipts and expenditures are balanced at 993,059,665 pesos (one peso equals approximately \$0.12).

## Argentina

THE Confraternidad Ferroviaria (Railroad Brotherhood) in Buenos Aires sent a message to Governor Fuller of Massachusetts asking him to pardon Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, under sentence for murder in that State. The brotherhood, with a membership of 100,000 in Argentina, also delivered a note to the American Chargé d'Affaires in Argentina requesting him to intercede with his Government in behalf of the condemned men. Port operators and city taxicab service in Buenos Aires came to a standstill on April 8 as the result of a forty-eight-hour strike called by the Regional Federation of Labor and by one local union as a protest against the decision of the Massachusetts Supreme Court denying a retrial to Sacco and Vanzetti.

[THE BRITISH EMPIRE]

# Britain's Increased Burden of Taxation

By RALSTON HAYDEN

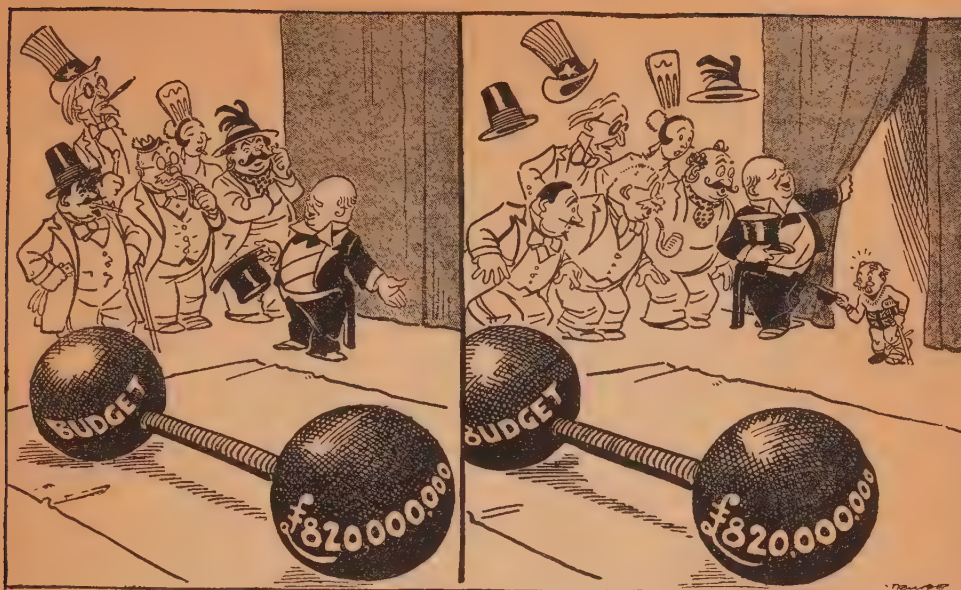
PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN; CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

IN the House of Commons on April 11, Winston Churchill, Chancellor of the Exchequer, opened Great Britain's budget for 1927. The proposals which it contained were at once recognized as demonstrating conclusively that, despite the crushing burdens imposed upon her by the World War and its consequences and the calamitous labor struggles of the past two years, Great Britain's financial position was fundamentally sound. The plans for taxation also inspired renewed confidence that the credit of the nation and its future welfare would not be jeopardized for the purpose of affording the Government an

easy way of meeting the very considerable deficit with which it was faced. The statutory sinking fund of £50,000,000 per annum was not to be reduced during the coming year. And withal, the Chancellor's revenue proposals were so planned as not to bear with undue weight upon any element of the British people or to demoralize any branch of British industry. The budget, therefore, which had been anticipated with dread, was received with general relief and satisfaction which were at once reflected on the Stock Exchange and throughout the world of business.

Mr. Churchill's budget speech showed





Professor Winston Churchill: "Now, let me introduce you to Mr. Bull, the world's strongest man, who will lift the enormous weight of over £800,000,000. Ladies and gentlemen—

MR. BULL!"

—Daily Express, London

that the problem which he had been called upon to solve was to meet the unavoidable expenses of the ensuing year and wipe out as much as possible of a deficit of £36,000,000 for the past year without, on the one hand, imposing unbearable taxes or, on the other, interfering with the established plan for the reduction of the national debt. His estimates allowed for the expenditure of the enormous sum of £834,830,000, or about \$4,000,000,000. This total included an estimated surplus of £1,440,000 and an allotment of £65,000,000 to the new sinking fund, £15,000,000 of this amount being partially to recoup the fund for the shortage of 1926. The increased revenue for 1927-1928 called for by these expenditures amounted to £38,000,000. The Chancellor proposed to meet this increased expenditure by the following means:

**Economy:** The Ministry of Transport and the Mines Department are to be abolished as separate departments; the Overseas Trade Department to be terminated as a separate entity; recruiting for the Civil Service to be rigidly curtailed. Estimated savings, £8,500,000.

**Road Fund:** The reserve of £12,000,000 in this fund to be taken and used as revenue.

**Property Tax:** The income tax, Schedule A (applying to landlords), at present payable in two equal instalments due on July 1 and Jan. 1, to be payable in 1928 on Jan. 1, bringing the payment which otherwise would have been made on July 1, 1928, forward to Jan. 1, 1928, and therefore within the existing fiscal year. Estimated increase in revenue for this year, £14,500,000.

**Supertax and Death (Inheritance) Duties:** The loopholes through which these taxes have, in part, been avoided, to be closed.

**Beer:** The period of credit to brewers for payment of tax to be reduced from two months to one month. Estimated increase, £5,000,000.

**Wines:** Increased taxes to be imposed on both British and imported wines. Estimated increase, £1,500,000.

**Tobacco:** An extra duty of 8d. per pound to be imposed on imported unmanufactured tobacco. Estimated increase, £3,400,000.

**Pottery:** A duty of 28s. per hundredweight to be imposed on imported china (with a preferential rebate in favor of Empire goods). Estimated increase, £200,000.

**Motor Tires:** A duty to be imposed on imported motor tires corresponding to McKenna duties on other automobile parts

(with an Empire preferential rebate). Estimated increase, £700,000.

Matches: The customs and excise duty to be raised by approximately 20 per cent.

The Chancellor's speech was delivered to a full house and packed galleries. Philip Snowden, Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Labor Cabinet, replied first for the Opposition, complimented Mr. Churchill upon the courage and audacity of his proposals and the charm and clearness with which he set them forth. David Lloyd George, another former Chancellor, speaking for the Liberals, declared that the budget was "extraordinarily ingenious and extraordinarily audacious," but cast doubt upon its soundness. He thought that Mr. Churchill was meeting most of his present difficulties by simply anticipating next year's revenue. Mr. Snowden later declared that the Government had only itself to blame for its deficit, which had been caused by labor troubles which wise statesmanship might have avoided. He also expressed doubt as to the accuracy of the estimate, both as to revenue and expenditures.

One of the most significant parts of the Budget speech had to do with the fundamental financial and business situation of Great Britain. Mr. Churchill declared that when he thought of the troubles of the past year he wondered, "not that we have suffered so much, but that we have not suffered more from last year's shocking breakdown of our island civilization. The

revenue, though mauled and wounded, has, in the main, survived. The immense number of secondary manufactures and businesses, so many of which have established themselves in the Southern half of England, the fecund processes of banking, broking and insurance, the vast sums brought into the country annually as the result of British investments abroad, have enabled us almost to keep the even tenor of our way." The exchange had "stood like a rock," and the credits established in New York (\$300,000,000) to maintain the pound sterling at parity would, Mr. Churchill announced, be allowed to expire within the month. The consuming power of the British people had been little affected by the troubles through which they had passed. The trade of the country had likewise "flowed on in a manner scarcely conceivable. \* \* \* We are still advancing and even, in this wretched year, we have saved, still augmented our capital, and still retained our position, whether the war debts are included or excluded, as the greatest creditor nation, and still retained our position as the financial centre of the world."

With reference to the national debt, Mr. Churchill declared that he had never considered seeking relief by the partial suspension in 1927 of the £50,000,000 sinking fund established five years ago. "To shirk the unpopularity involved in putting on a moderate amount of new taxes at the expense of the settled policy of debt repayment would be cowardly and wrong. Britain cannot afford to fly the signal of distress and there is neither the need nor the excuse to fly it. \* \* \* There never has been any community in the world to whom financial reputation and proofs of strength were more vital than to Great Britain, and there never has been any time in our history when, with great and continuous conversion operations and possibilities merging upon us, financial prestige was more vital to Great Britain than it is now." The burden of debt which Great Britain is carrying is revealed by the fact that £370,000,000, or more than 44 per cent. of the estimated expenditures, is for the National Debt Services.

In concluding his speech Mr. Churchill declared that, if he was using £17,000,000 of "once-for-all or windfall revenue" to meet current needs, that was because the depression due to the labor troubles of the past year had caused a temporary loss of income. He warned the Commons, however, that it would be impossible to repeat



"In the Spring the young man's fancy—"  
—The Star, London



such expedients another year. Unless expenditure can be decreased as revenue grows, there is no possible chance of a reduction in taxation. If expenditure increases, additional taxation of the necessities of life will be necessary to pay the bills and to keep the sinking fund at the statutory level of £50,000,000 per year. Such taxation, Mr. Churchill declared, he would not hesitate to recommend were he to remain as Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The debate on the Trade Unions bill opened on May 2 with an uproarious demonstration by the Labor members, who termed the Government members "wasters, blackguards, rotters and thieves." The tone of the session had already been forecast from 2,000 meetings held throughout England on May Day, in which British labor vowed war on the measure. Sir Douglas Hogg, Attorney General, who moved the second reading and opened the debate, took his stand on the point that it is the Government's duty to protect the public against coercion. J. R. Clynes, who stated Ramsay MacDonald's case in his absence in America, declared that the act aims to prevent all strikes from winning and would cut labor funds. Premier Baldwin himself spoke on the second day, declaring that the activities of the trade unions were shifting gradually from the industrial to the political sphere, in which some of them are controlled by the Communist Party. He was greeted by shouts of "Liar!" The Laborite who shouted was suspended for five days. On May 5 the second reading was carried by a majority of 215.

On April 12, after long argument, the Cabinet voted to present to Parliament a measure reducing the voting age for women from 30 to 21. If passed, this will add 5,000,000 voters to the electorate, and in 70 per cent. of the constituencies women will outnumber men.

The Independent Labor Party, Socialist wing of the larger Labor Party, revolted on April 17 against the Parliamentary leadership of ex-Premier Ramsay MacDonald and decided not to appoint him as a delegate to the party conference or nominate him for Treasurer.

## Ireland

THE Irish Free State budget, announced on April 21, shows a surplus of £550,000 (\$2,667,000) and the income tax will accordingly be reduced. A cut in the army cost of £500,000 was promised by Finance Minis-

ter Blythe on condition that the voters would give increased support to the parties which accept the treaty with England.

## New Zealand

PREMIER COATES announced on April 23 that New Zealand proposes to contribute £1,000,000 toward the cost of the new Singapore naval base, since "the war taught New Zealand that its whole prosperity and its prospects of assisting the empire in case of necessity depended entirely upon the safety and adequacy of sea communications."

## Newfoundland

THE by-election for St. John's East, held on April 22, resulted in a serious defeat for the Monroe Government, which was elected three years ago on a program of political reform. The Government now commands only one seat more than the Opposition.

## India

SIR CHARLES ALEXANDER INNES was appointed Governor of Burma and Sir Alexander Phillips Muddiman Governor of Agra and Oudh on April 24.

The Swarajist Party was decisively defeated in the election of Calcutta Corporation on April 10.

The bill creating a separate Indian navy passed its third reading in the British House of Commons on April 5.

## Canada

THE Supreme Court of Canada handed down the important decision during the month that the gold and silver found in lands that were part of the original grant to the Hudson Bay Company belong to the Crown. The dispute goes back to the reign of Charles II.

The royal commission investigating the liquor traffic across the United States border was told on May 2 by "Frenchy" Savard of Detroit that his business alone amounts to more than \$5,000,000 a year.

## South Africa

THE conference engaged in settling the question of a national flag presented a report on April 14 recommending the design of a St. George's cross with a white border on a green field as a solution of the deadlock over the question of the Union Jack.

The budget, announced on March 30, showed a surplus of £1,250,000 for the year.

## Australia

**L**ABOR became the largest party in the Legislative Assembly of Victoria in consequence of elections held on April 16, which were marked by a breaking of the Nationalist-County Party Coalition. Voting

at the election was compulsory under a recent act, with the result that more than 90 per cent. of the electors voted.

A serious dispute was in progress at the time this article went to press in the Labor Government and movement in New South Wales, the chief developments up to April 23 being a demand for the resignation of Mr. Lang, the Premier, and the expulsion of three members of the Legislative Assembly from the movement.

[FRANCE AND BELGIUM]

## France's Stabilization Dilemma

By CARL BECKER

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, CORNELL UNIVERSITY; CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

**D**URING the month the French Chamber of Deputies and the Senate were chiefly occupied with routine discussion of the three important Government measures already mentioned—reorganization of the army, the electoral reform project, and the project to transfer the match monopoly to a private corporation. Against the latter proposal a good deal of pressure was brought to bear, in the shape of telegrams, letters and formal protests, one result of which was that on April 3 the Finance Commission of the Chamber refused to report the measure for discussion by a vote of twenty to twenty, the negative vote coming from the Left members. Some suggested additions to the bill for electoral reform were presented, the one of chief interest being a proposal presented to the Chamber by Robert Sérat, Georges Bonnefous, and 117 colleagues, to the effect that whatever method of election might be adopted the number of Senators should be reduced to 175 and the number of Deputies to 350.

The matter of greatest interest during the month was the question of stabilization in general, and in particular the question of the internal debt. During the years 1928-1929 the Government is pledged to meet obligations amounting to some 20,000,000,000 francs; on July 1, 1928, National Credit Bonds to the amount of 1,560,000,000; on Dec. 8, 1928, Treasury Bonds, 6,600,000,000; on May 16, 1929, Ten Year Bonds, 7,500,000,000, and on May 20, 1929, Treasury Bonds, 6,200,000,000. On April 1, speaking before the Sinking Fund

Board, Premier Poincaré announced the intention of the Government to issue during the next few months a gigantic internal consolidation loan of 21,500,000,000 francs (\$860,000,000). The form and tenure of the new bonds were not specified, but it was stated that they would not be offered for sale, but would only be exchanged for those already held; and it was understood that they would be for relatively long terms, and at a rate of interest sufficient to induce the present holders to accept them. The Government has already in hand funds to meet its obligations for the year 1927, and if the present consolidation scheme goes through it will be relieved for three years of the tremendous burden of the internal debt, and be free to devote itself to the foreign debt and to the crucial problem of stabilization.

People have accustomed themselves to thinking that Premier Poincaré can do whatever he proposes to do, and indeed the existing business and financial situation leaves little doubt of the success of the funding scheme. April showed a continued improvement in business conditions, in the textile, silk, metal and mechanical industries especially. The money market was easy, the official bank discount rate falling on April 17 to 5 per cent, the lowest since the war. During the first three months of the year the revenue collected was 483,500,000 francs. For the month of March the amount collected, according to an announcement of the Premier, was 92,000,000 francs in excess of the estimate. The condition of the Treasury was excel-



lent. In addition to possessing the funds for the current year's obligations, it has returned to the Bank of France since July last 8,000,000,000 francs. On April 9 an agreement was reached between the Bank of France and the Bank of England for the return to France of the £18,000,000 formerly deposited in London as security for American loans. The transaction, completed on April 22, wiped out a debt of £33,000,000 and raised the gold reserve of the Bank of France to approximately \$1,000,000,000. France thus became second only to the United States in the amount of its gold reserve—a result truly amazing to those who recalled the desperate situation of France in July, 1926.

The refunding scheme announced by Premier Poincaré, together with the solid financial situation which made it feasible, gave new life to the question of stabilization. During the month there was accordingly a considerable controversy in the journals between the "stabilizers" and the "revaluationists." The latter maintained that the franc can and should be pushed up to its pre-war value, or something near it. According to them the phenomenal success of Premier Poincaré during the last nine months in doubling the value of the franc proves that, with due precautions, and in course of time, the same process can be repeated safely. The increased value of the franc, they point out, has brought about a rapid return of capital to France, the result of which, if continued, would be so far to increase the wealth and prosperity of the country that the internal debt could be paid at the higher value. The chief advocates of "revaluation" are the numerous holders of Government bonds, who naturally wished to be paid in full.

The "stabilizers" maintained, on the contrary, that it is, and must remain, impossible for France to pay the enormous internal debt at the pre-war value of the franc. That was the opinion of most financial experts, and notably of Joseph Cailiaux, who has several times during the last four months urged that the franc should be stabilized at its present value. The "stabilizers" find their support among the bankers, the big business interests and the laboring classes—in short among those who fear business depression, and among those who will have to pay taxes in order to recoup the bondholders. They agree that if the franc is stabilized at its present value the bondholders will suffer, but they maintain that if the bondholders are paid in full the taxpayers will suffer.

The essential dilemma of the whole situation was well presented by Jacques Bainville, writing in *L'Action Française* on April 3: "The franc at 20 centimes represents well enough the loss sustained [by the war]. Well enough, since such questions are not capable of being stated with mathematical precision. The question at present is to learn whether, with the franc at 20 centimes, life is tolerable, whether the obligations of the State, the needs of agriculture, industry and commerce, the capacities of the taxpayers, and the rights of individuals, can be reconciled without sacrificing unjustly one class to another. It is evident that the depreciation of money sacrifices the creditors to the debts. \* \* \* We must find the point at which life is tolerable for the bondholders, without crushing the taxpayers."

Premier Poincaré, in a speech at Bar-le-Duc on May 2, emphasized the fact that "whether gradual revalorization or prompt stabilization is desired, neither can be accomplished without a budget in continuous balance and an unharassed Treasury," and warned malcontents against jeopardizing the results thus far attained, by ill-considered action. He announced that there would be no further increases in taxation in the budget which he is preparing.

On April 5 the Chamber of Deputies ended an anomaly which has hitherto permitted members of the Chamber, elected to the Senate, to retain their seats in the Chamber for the term for which they were elected, while at the same time occupying their seats in the Senate. The occasion for the action was the fact that seven Radical Deputies were taking advantage of this privilege in order to vote in both chambers on the Electoral Reform bill.

It was announced on April 8 that the Soviet Government had offered to pay an average of 60,000,000 gold francs on the Russian debt to France for a period of sixty years, on condition that satisfactory credits be advanced for financing Russian industries.

Minister Sarraut, on April 19, denounced Communist activities tending to break down the morale of the French Army, and on April 22 charged the Moscow Communists with stirring up rebellion among the natives in Africa. Whatever truth may be in this charge, it was announced early in April that the Riff was again in revolt. Although the revolt appeared to be mainly in the Spanish zone, due perhaps to the alleged policy of repression followed by the Spanish Government, it was thought that the French

would necessarily be soon involved unless the uprising should be quickly put down.

It was announced on April 17 that the French Government had taken into serious consideration the situation in China. It was feared that the Chinese civil war might provoke uprisings in Indo-China, and in order to be prepared two battalions of the Foreign Legion were sent to Saigon, to be followed, it was thought, by a battalion of Senegalese sharpshooters.

On April 14 two Municipal Councillors of the town of St. Cyr-l'Ecole were arrested and a warrant was issued for the arrest of M. Cremet, recently elected to the Paris Council on the Communist ticket, on the charge that he was acting as the directing power of a widespread plot to obtain secret military information for the benefit of the Moscow Communists.

During the month the trial of Father Haegy, an Alsatian priest, at Colmar, acquired a certain dramatic interest by virtue of its political significance. Some time ago a Paris journalist, Edouard Helsey, charged Father Haegy with being pro-German, alleging that his autonomist activities originated in a dislike of "atheist" France. Father Haegy sued Helsey for defamation, but the real issue at the trial,

nevertheless, turned out to be whether Father Haegy could be in favor of Alsatian autonomy and still be loyal to France. The evidence seemed to indicate that he was both a good Alsatian and a good Frenchman; but this result placed the Judges in a dilemma. If they declared in favor of Father Haegy they would by implication condemn the French administration of Alsace; if they declared against him they would not only deny the evidence but by implication condemn the movement for Alsatian autonomy. Faced by this situation, the Public Prosecutor, M. Fachot, made a moving appeal to the jury to dismiss the case; to Father Haegy to withdraw his suit. The grounds of his appeal to both parties were that, in the interest of good feeling between France and Alsace, it was necessary to depart from the strictly legal procedure. Father Haegy at first was disinclined to respond, but under pressure of a dramatic and emotional situation he finally cried out, "Vive la France!" Some one began to sing the "Marseillaise" and in a riot of sentiment Father Haegy and M. Helsey embraced and sang together. While this characteristically French ending to the incident will not solve the Alsatian question, it at least will not have embittered it.

[GERMANY AND AUSTRIA]

## Religious Issue Looming in German Politics

By HARRY J. CARMAN

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THROUGHOUT its long history—as feudal domain, confederation empire, and republic—Germany has been the scene of frequent clashes between Church and State. Those familiar with the early years of the German Empire, for instance, will remember that from the very first days of his incumbency as Chancellor the veteran statesman Bismarck was haunted by an ever-present fear that German unity might be undermined and even possibly destroyed by "particularism" and internationalism. In this connection the Catholic Church was especially obnoxious to him.

Although the Catholics had rallied to the Fatherland during the Franco-Prussian War, Bismarck could not forget the struggle between Pope and Emperor during the Middle Ages, or the fact that the

Catholics had favored Austria during the Austro-Prussian struggle in 1866. Nor could he forget that in 1864 Pope Pius IX had issued a note encyclical, *Quanta Cura*, which was followed by the celebrated "Syllabus of Errors," both of which vigorously defended the supremacy of the Church and denounced as "errors" liberty of conscience, civil marriage, divorce and secular education. Moreover, four years later a great convention of Catholic ecclesiastics held in Rome, and known as the Vatican Council, pronounced the dogma of "papal infallibility." When, therefore, in the German elections of 1871 the Centre or Catholic Party elected sixty-three members to the Reichstag, Bismarck regarded it as a challenge to the unity of the German Empire.

A great struggle known as the *Kultur-*



*kampf* ensued. In a very true sense this struggle was a titanic conflict between Church and State, for during 1873-1875 a series of enactments known as the "May Laws" were passed by the Prussian Government making civil marriage compulsory, obligating all candidates for the priesthood to attend Government schools and universities and to pass Government examinations. Subventions to the Church were prohibited, strict supervision over Catholic institutions was instituted, and the civil Government asserted its authority in the appointment and dismissal of priests.

Pope Pius IX declared these laws null and void and enjoined the faithful of Germany not to obey them. After a bitter domestic struggle the majority of the obnoxious measures were repealed and a sort of concordat was arranged between Church and State.

Since the inception of the German Republic the religious question has manifested itself more frequently in the form of clashes between the established Church, both Protestant and Catholic, and the State over questions of education. The most recent of these clashes occurred early in April when Foreign Minister Stresemann, speaking at Hanover before the Culture Congress of the German People's Party, urged his partisans to keep Prussian education and culture free from clerical domination.

Dr. Stresemann's appeal was the signal for a political outburst. In reactionary quarters he was accused of treachery by his Nationalist and Catholic Centrist associates, who favor a hard and fast agreement between the Reich and the Protestant and Catholic Churches. The Foreign Minister, they asserted, was bidding for anti-clerical votes for his party in the next Prussian elections. In his reply before the Reichstag, Dr. Stresemann said that with Bavaria already possessing a concordat, and Prussia about to conclude one with Rome, the Reich's intercourse with the Holy See would be hampered. Although he did not directly discuss his previous statement that his party would not sanction educational control by the Church, he nevertheless alluded to it.

The Socialists and Democrats who dominate the Prussian Government do not welcome Dr. Stresemann's pronouncements on the question. Though opposed to clerical control of education, they realize that some sort of concordat is inevitable and they therefore prefer that an accord with the Church be made by a Prussian Government

controlled by Socialists and Democrats rather than by the Federal Government, in which the liberal parties are at present less powerful. Dr. Stresemann, they assert, ought not to meddle and would not meddle if he were not actuated by a burning desire to strengthen his party.

In support of this contention, both the Socialists and Democrats, as well as many spokesmen representing the more conservative parties, declared that the Foreign Minister's Hanover speech was nothing more or less than an attempt to lure Lutheran voters from the Nationalists into the ranks of the German People's Party by playing up the dire consequences of Roman Catholic intervention in secular affairs. The Nationalists, hoping to frustrate such attempts, maintain that they will vehemently oppose any concordat that insures a dominant Protestant influence in German schools. Interestingly enough, the Centrists, hoping to give the Papacy a voice in the education of German Catholic childhood, are quite willing to grant the Protestant wishes in sections where the Lutherans are in a majority. In the opinion of careful observers, both Lutherans and Catholics in last analysis want the schools to devote no small part of their time to religious instruction. Whether they will gain this goal remains to be seen. It seems certain that they are doomed to disappointment in Prussia if the Socialists and Democrats have their way, and in the Reich if the German People's Party remains loyal to its platform and tradition.

Doctor Muller, accused of libelling Foreign Minister Stresemann, was found guilty on April 11 and sentenced to pay 10,000 marks fine and costs or spend a hundred days in jail. Dr. Muller had charged in speeches and published articles that Dr. Stresemann was guilty of aiding the Evaporator Company, of the Executive Committee of which he was a member, in smuggling munitions into Poland. He also charged that Dr. Stresemann was intimate with General Nollet, chief of the Interallied Control Commission, and that Paul Litwin, general director of the Evaporator Company, had been enabled to pay a visit to Premier Poincaré of France and to conclude a business deal through the German Foreign Minister's influence. The Court said the evidence not only failed to prove the charges, but showed that Dr. Stresemann was innocent of illegal transactions.

The Coalition Government suffered a defeat at the hands of the Socialists on April 13, when Herr Hergt, Minister of Justice

and Vice Chancellor, tried to persuade the Federal Council to postpone presenting a bill to the Reichstag prolonging or replacing the law expiring in July for the protection of the republic, and which specifies that the former Kaiser shall not be allowed to return to Germany. Herr Hergt echoed statements made repeatedly by Herr Keudell, Minister of the Interior, who said that the question of the former Kaiser's return to German soil was not acute. Prussian members of the Federal Council, however, backed up the recent note from Herr Braun, Minister President of Prussia, to Chancellor Marx, asking that Wilhelm be kept out. The result of the balloting showed that thirty-seven of the sixty members favored drafting a bill immediately.

The Berlin Police President issued an edict on May 5 dissolving the Voelkische Partei (National Socialists) and all its affiliated leagues, as a result of serious rioting and demonstration, a mass meeting of this extreme branch of the German Fascisti having mobbed two newspaper reporters.

Following the retirement on March 4 of Dr. Hugo Am Behnoff from the post of Minister of Justice in the Prussian Cabinet at the age of 72 years, the portfolio was given to Dr. Hermann Schmidt, also a leader of the Centrist Party.

German postage will be increased about 50 per cent. on July 1. It is estimated that this will increase the Reich's revenues by about 50,000,000 marks yearly.

Vice Chancellor Oscar Hergt created a stir when he declared in a speech delivered at Beuthen on May 1 that his party would never consider a "Locarno of the East" at which Eastern frontiers would be guaranteed. He intimated that the first opportunity would be used to abolish the Polish corridor and also said the "wrong" done by the League in fixing the Silesian border would be corrected. In addition he demanded a revision of the Dawes Plan. This pronouncement caused a flood of protests, particularly from Poland; the Socialist *Vorwaerts* termed the speech "a heavy blow to Germany's foreign policy. It will arouse the suspicion that Germany wants to carry on a warlike policy aiming at a forcible partition of Polish and Czechoslovak territory."

In a speech before the Association of German Machine Manufacturers on April 28, Foreign Minister Stresemann strongly condemned the "bigoted protectionism" which he declared had arisen out of the war. Political pacification, he asserted,

was absolutely buttressed on economic accord. He added:

Therefore I welcome recognition by the Powers of this conception and their readiness to work for its realization through an economic conference called by the League of Nations. There I hope all the problems confronting the world will be brought nearer solution. Of course it must be understood that the conference can be only the beginning.

Dr. Stresemann warned his hearers against a misguided belief in the capacity of domestic industry to thrive behind the shield of a high protective tariff, since "every nation has an interest in the economic welfare of others." He conceded that the younger States might require tariff protection temporarily for their "infant industries," but insisted that a maximum ought to be set for the "infancy period."

## Austria

FINAL returns of the general elections held Sunday, April 24, gave Chancellor Seipel's anti-Socialist coalition 94 seats in the new Parliament against the Socialists' 71. The anti-Socialists lost three seats, but retained a secure majority of 23. Completed figures indicate very little change since the election of 1923. Probably the most noticeable was an increase of almost 10 per cent. in the number of voters. The Communists polled only 70,000 votes, a loss of 20,000 in four years. They failed to win a seat in Parliament or elect any representatives in provincial city governments. The total vote of 3,607,856 represented 90 per cent. of the lists and more than half the population of Austria. This was an increase of 293,000 over the last vote, divided almost equally between Socialists and anti-Socialists. The anti-Socialists had 58 per cent. of the votes, largely from the farmers and small burghers.

Industrially and commercially the Austrian domestic outlook was better than it had been in a long time, and Austrian industrialists hoped for a year or two of fair business which would do much to allow them to overcome the effects of the post-war period. While there was not much chance of Austria increasing her exports, any domestic business would be quickly reflected in the lessening of unemployment within the frontiers and would generally help trade.

The city of Vienna resumed negotiations for a loan of \$30,000,000 with three American groups.

The failure of Austria and Czechoslovakia to renew their trade agreement advanced prices of textile shares on the Boerse



# Italy—a Fascist-Syndicalist State

By ELOISE ELLERY

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A FASCIST "Charter of Labor" was proclaimed by Premier Mussolini on April 21. It was announced at a special meeting of the Fascist Grand Council and as a climax of a joint celebration of the Fascist Labor Day and the 2,681st anniversary of the founding of Rome. This charter is a kind of Bill of Rights explaining and amplifying the principles of existing laws and providing a basis for legislation in the future. It may best be understood by briefly reviewing the steps which have led to the Fascist Government's control over production, and thus to the establishment of what may be called a Fascist-Syndicalist State.

Catholic and Socialist unions have long existed in Italy, and with the growth of Fascism, Fascist trade unions were also developed. These were first united (January, 1922) in a general organization, known as *La Confederazione Nazionale delle Corporazione Sindicale*. The general scheme of this confederation envisaged the ultimate union of citizens of all classes and all types of intellectual labor. In October, 1925, the Fascist Unions were recognized by the Italian Industrial Employers' Federation as the sole representatives of the workers, and a few days later the Fascist Grand Council presented further plans of organization. These plans were embodied in the law of March, 1926. It provided that for each art, craft, trade or profession one local Fascist trade union (syndicate) representing the interests of the workers and one organization representing the interests of employers be lawfully recognized and be subjected to State supervision; further, that other organizations be formed covering a larger area than the local syndicates and composed of both employers and employees. Thus in the syndicates the various categories of labor alone are included, while in the larger associations are included both labor and capital. Besides exclusive recognition of certain organizations by the State, two other principles are involved: compulsory arbitration and the prohibition of strikes and lockouts. The whole system is brought under the control of the Minister of Corporations, a post occupied by Mussolini himself.

These are the principles which are restated and further defined in application by the new "charter." (For the complete text see page 445.) It consists of thirty articles and a preamble. The latter declares that labor, "which is a social duty, and property, which accomplishes a social function, are both under the guardianship of the State, since the State must control the whole body of production for the well-being of its citizens and the development of national strength." In order to accomplish this end all relations between capital and labor are carried out through collective contracts between the State recognized groups of employers and employees. Each contract must definitely specify salaries, hours and disciplinary rules. Other organizations, called corporations and acting as direct agents of the State, will make rules binding on both parties and attempt to settle disputes. In case of failure to do so, recourse may be had to specially created Labor Courts, whose decision is final. "The corporations, with the cooperation of both employers and employees, will control all social, educational, recreational and similar activities in industry, will guarantee health and morality conditions and will handle accidents and maternal benefits as well as endowments and unemployment insurance." All employment agencies will be operated by the State, which will select men on the basis of ability. The charter is opposed to a minimum wage or to absolute equality of wages in any single industry. Strikes, lockouts, boycotts, obstructionism and sabotage are absolutely forbidden, and where carried on for political motives are to be regarded as rebellion against the State. On the other hand, the workers' guarantees are "a six-day week, the number of hours not being defined; extra pay for night work and annual paid holiday, civil and religious holidays when deemed possible, indemnity in proportion to the time of service in case of discharge and similarly to the worker's family in case of death and the assurance of a position in case of short illness."

In regard to capital the charter declares:

The Fascist régime upholds the doctrine of private property and favors private initiative

in the field of production, considering both functions of the national interest. The owner of a business or industry is responsible to the State for its production, but its employees also are responsible to the State in helping toward an increase in the value of the products and a reduction in their costs. When private initiative is insufficient or lacking, or when political interests dictate, the State may encourage, control or take over the management of the company, operating it through a corporation. Capital must share equally with labor the effects of crises and hard times, official statistics being used in judgment.

All these provisions refer only to the organizations recognized by the State. Non-Fascist associations will be permitted to exist, but without power.

This whole scheme of labor legislation is denounced in some quarters as monopolistic in character and a serious limitation on freedom; by others it is regarded as a substitution of the principle of cooperation for that of competition and thus a step in the abolition of class struggle, while Mussolini himself is hailed as an active force for industrial peace and the prophet of a new order.

The former view is vehemently supported by an Italian newspaper entitled *Syndical Battles*, claiming to be the official organ of the Italian Confederation of Labor (Socialist). Suppressed as far as any open circulation is concerned by the decree of last November, which suspended the licenses of anti-Government publications, it is now printed in Belgium and is said to be forwarded to Italy in envelopes, like those used by Fascist organizations abroad, and to have a considerable clandestine circulation. It asserts that the jails are filled to overflowing with thousands of workers, assails the Fascist dictatorship and urges workers to boycott the Fascist syndicates and to join the Confederation of Labor as a means of preparing for revolution.

The difficulties with Yugoslavia, which continued during the month, incidentally led to action by the Italian Government against former Premier Nitti. Signor Nitti is a bitter opponent of the Fascist régime and on that account found it desirable to leave Italy several years ago. His accusations against Italy of rampant imperialism are regarded by the Fascist press as equivalent to high treason. The immediate cause of the present action was an interview which he is alleged to have recently given to a Yugoslavian newspaper, in which he openly sided with Yugoslavia against Italy on the Albanian question. The matter was taken up by the special commission entrusted with the application of the law against anti-Fascist plotters abroad and was still unsettled



(Thirty armed cars have arrived in Belgrade from France.)

Italy: "What are you doing, sister?"

France: "Giving you another proof of my sisterly affection."

—Il 420, Florence

at the time this article was written. This is the first time that a man of Signor Nitti's standing has been brought before the committee. If convicted he faces the loss of his nationality.

A bill concerning naturalization pending in France came under fire of criticism by the Italian press. It would reduce the period of residence in France for naturalization from ten years to three years and in certain cases to one year, and provides that henceforth all children born in France of a French mother and a foreign father would be French citizens and no longer have, as at present, the option when they come of age of choosing their father's nationality. A further provision would place naturalized citizens under a kind of special surveillance for ten years with ineligibility for holding office till they have proved their loyalty to the French Government. According to the *Corriere della Sera*, under the operation of this law children of Italian fathers might unwittingly and unwillingly become French citizens, and it objected strongly to the provision which would leave naturalized citizens for ten years in a kind of limbo, with no opportunity for office holding in communities to whose prosperity they might have contributed.

A new law recently passed by the Italian Parliament affects Italy's relation with the Secretariat of the League of Nations. It places all employes of the League of Nations of Italian nationality under the direct control of the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs. This appears to be in direct contradiction to the covenant of the League, which puts the personnel of the Secretariat under the control of the Secretary General. Em-



ployes of the Secretariat are supposed to lay aside national prejudices and to serve the League even against their own country, but this law makes it necessary for Italian employes to secure the permission of the Foreign Office at Rome and in case of failure to secure such permission to resign.

The outstanding event of the past month within Italy was the trial before the special military tribunal for the defense of the State of the former Socialist Deputy, Tito Zaniboni, General Luigi Capello and seven others accused of a plot to murder Premier Mussolini during the Armistice Day celebration on Nov. 4, 1925. Interest centred about Zaniboni, who admitted his guilt, denounced Mussolini as an imposter and declared his undying hatred of Fascism and all its works. The indignation aroused in a Fascist audience by so defiant an attitude was mingled with admiration for the courage and disinterestedness with which he tried to shield his accomplices by taking all the blame upon himself and declaring that he alone was guilty. The court, however, found them all, with one exception, guilty. Zaniboni was sentenced to thirty years' imprisonment, with perpetual deprivation of public office. General Capello was given a like penalty and the others sentenced to terms of from seven to twelve years.

An aftermath of the trial was the arrest of Domizio Torrigiani, the Grand Master of Italian Freemasonry. According to the evi-

dence at the Zaniboni trial, the Italian Freemasonry, if not actually a party to the plot to murder Premier Mussolini, had actively participated in anti-Fascist agitation. Signor Torrigiani was therefore haled before the Provincial Court and sentenced to banishment for five years on one of the islands where political prisoners are confined. This is said to be a worse fate than imprisonment, as these islands are desolate, without water, and inhabited by criminals.

In spite of opposition, Fascist organizations have reached, according to their official figures, a total membership of 2,168,823, divided as follows: Fascisti 811,996, Women Black Shirts 50,161, Vanguardists (the youths' organizations) 280,903, Balilla (the boys' organization) 405,954, Fascist older girls 14,215, younger girls 80,034, university students 12,500, public employes 251,000, teachers 79,000, railwaymen 65,000, postal workers 41,000 and public utility workers 77,000.

The marked event during the last month in the economic situation was the rise of the lira to 5.67½ cents, a rate not reached in nearly four years. The rise was so rapid for a time as to threaten Italian exports and to cause some alarm, but was checked by vigorous measures by the Government, which placed heavy offerings on the market, thus forcing a recession to 5.24½. It was reported on May 1 that it would be held at 5¼ cents for a time.

[EASTERN EUROPE AND THE BALKANS]

## Balkan Aspect of Italo-Hungarian Pact

By FREDERIC A. OGG

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**D**URING recent months Hungary has oriented rapidly toward Fascist Italy, and in the first week of April the expected diplomatic agreements between the two States became a reality, with the result of adding another to the long string of recent triumphs for Premier Mussolini's statecraft and contributing a significant new feature to the political situation of Southeastern Europe.

Negotiations looking to two objectives, namely, a general treaty of friendship, conciliation and arbitration and a convention giving Hungary an outlet to the sea at Fiume, having been carried to the point

where little more than formalities remained, Premier Bethlen arrived in Rome on April 4, where his reception by both Government and press was extremely cordial. All remaining unsettled points in the treaty of friendship and arbitration were arranged in a single interview at the Chigi Palace, and on April 5 the document was signed. The Fiume arrangement required a little more discussion, but the conclusions arrived at by Italian and Hungarian experts who had been studying the subject were speedily put into the form of official notes and duly signed. Premier Bethlen returned to Budapest on April 16.

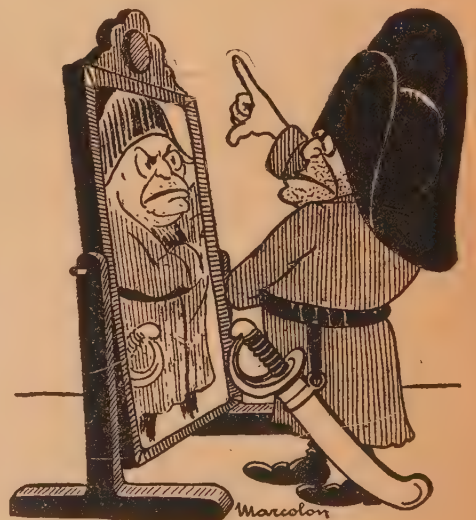
The treaty of friendship and arbitration is of the same general character as treaties already signed by Italy with Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Albania, and indeed with Yugoslavia in the days before Mussolini's Balkan policy took its present turn. Arranged in five articles, supplemented by a protocol of eighteen others, the instrument provides for "constant and perpetual" friendship between the two States; and to that end it stipulates that all disputes whatsoever arising between the States, if not brought to a solution through the ordinary diplomatic channels within a reasonable time, shall be submitted to a procedure of conciliation, and, if that fails, to a process of arbitration. The only exception is disputes which originated before the present agreement was concluded. The protocol defines at some length the modes of conciliation and arbitration, prescribing that for the former a conciliation commission of three members (one representing each State and the third selected by these two) shall be employed, and that cases of arbitration shall be conducted according to Articles 51-81 of The Hague convention of 1907. The treaty is to be effective for a period of ten years from exchange of ratifications, and, if not denounced by either party one year before the expiration of this time, is to remain in force for another period of equal length.

The convention relative to Fiume carried out the plan, originally suggested by Italy, whereby this port is to be the principal trade outlet of Hungary in the Adriatic rather than Spalato, which had been offered by Yugoslavia. Other proffered ports included Salonika, on the Aegean Sea, suggested by Greece, and even Constanza, on the Black Sea, offered by Rumania. As was pointed out in an earlier article in which this subject was mentioned, the use of Fiume as a port will entail transit for goods across a small stretch of Yugoslav territory. But Count Bethlen is quoted as saying that before going to Rome he assured himself that the Belgrade Government does not intend to oppose a suitable traffic agreement. Of all the ports proposed, Fiume undoubtedly offers the greatest geographical advantages for Hungary's purposes.

Reverberations of these agreements, as reported in the European press, have been both plentiful and interesting. In Italy, where, of course, under existing conditions nothing but enthusiastic approval was to be expected from the press, the treaties are hailed as another milestone in the progress

of Mussolini's diplomacy and as possibly the most important guarantee thus obtained of Italy's future prestige and influence throughout Southeastern Europe. In Hungary there is also gratification, the more by reason of the fact that, as Count Bethlen remarked in an interview in the *Lavoro d'Italia*, the treaty of friendship is the first treaty concluded by Hungary with one of the former enemy States in which the Magyar State appears as, for diplomatic purposes, the entire equal of the cosignatory. In the *Pesti Hirlap* Count Jules Andrássy declares that Italo-Hungarian good relations are based not only on historical antecedents but also on present identity of interests. The *Pester Lloyd* says, substantially the same thing, and adds that the new accord will constitute "a true bastion of peace in the Europe of the future."

Apart from the immediate parties to the agreements, the States chiefly concerned are, naturally, Yugoslavia and France, although Czechoslovakia and Rumania, as members of the Little Entente, have much reason to be interested. Yugoslavia is vitally affected because she now finds herself completely surrounded by States with which Italy has close treaty relations, or, in the case of Greece (with which the next treaty will probably be concluded), with which she is on good terms. The country now feels isolated and surrounded by actual or poten-



THE CUP AND THE LIP

Mussolini: "I attack Yugoslavia. I then annihilate the Government and I crown myself Emperor of Europe \* \* \* it is quite easy."

—*Carnet de La Semaine, Paris*



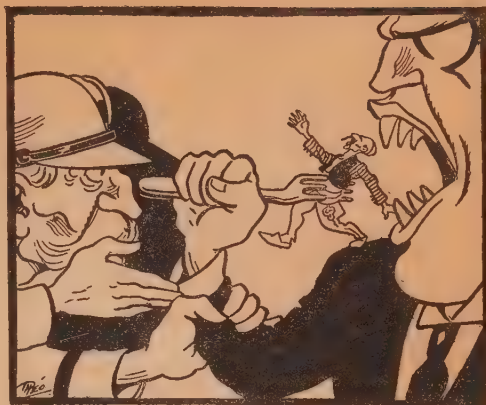
tial enemies; although it should be mentioned that leading politicians at Budapest profess to see in the recent agreement with Italy a prelude to a Hungarian-Yugoslav treaty which in turn will help to ease the Italo-Yugoslav tension.

France views the new situation with mingled feelings. In so far as the agreements are truly to be considered an additional guarantee of peace, she cannot well object to them. But the thing that she chiefly sees in them is a further and important step toward the supplanting of her own prestige and diplomatic influence in Central and Southeastern Europe by the prestige and influence of Italy. The whole drift of late has been in that direction; practically every vantage point gained by Rome has been at the expense of Paris. Except Yugoslavia, every country of Southeastern Europe now looks frankly upon Italy as its chief friend and supporter; and the Triple Entente, once a main instrumentality of France in that quarter, grows perceptibly weaker. Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia may come even closer together than they are at present, but Rumania has gone off on a tangent, which, incidentally, heads straight toward Rome.

In short, the Fiume agreement, providing an outlet for Hungary to the Mediterranean and easing commercial relations, is viewed at Paris as unobjectionable, but the major treaty is looked at askance, not only because of the way in which it immediately affects French prestige but on the ground that any treaty between two States, themselves without a common frontier, which sets up a kind of alliance as against another State that is the neighbor of both is inherently inconsistent with what is supposed to be the new international order.

On returning to Budapest, Premier Bethlen was full of praise, both for the personality of Mussolini and for Fascism as it now operates beyond the Alps. The Hungarian Government will, he said, make studies of the system with a view, not to a general adoption of it, but to imitating those features, especially the social aspects, which might be successfully utilized in the northern country.

Meanwhile the tense situation produced by the Tirana treaty of last December failed to yield to treatment as had been hoped. In early April there was, it is true, a lull in the controversy. Both the Italian and the Yugoslav press became less denunciatory; observers reported the frontiers quiet; and there seemed reason to expect that the commission of inquiry created by



#### MUSSOLINI'S PRECAUTION

The Yugoslav: "Stop! What are you doing?"  
Mussolini: "It is to rescue another victim of your greed."

—P'st, Constantinople

Great Britain, France and Germany would accomplish something. After the middle of the month, however, the quarrel between the two countries blazed forth anew, primarily because the *Giornale d'Italia* and other Government-inspired newspapers returned to the charge that Yugoslavia is secretly pushing military preparations against Italy, and also because of Mussolini's continued insistence that the question is one with which only Rome and Belgrade have to do and that it must be settled entirely by them, without intervention by any outside investigating commission, and certainly without resort to the League of Nations. The Italian Premier had, in fact, definitely rejected a Yugoslav offer to have the Albanian-Yugoslav borders investigated by a group of allied military attachés from Belgrade; and he was quoted as having declared that in any discussions that might take place between the two Governments the Tirana treaty could not be mentioned, "since Italy has taken a solemn pledge to protect Albania."

At all events, feeling in Yugoslavia again grew bitter. It was freely charged that Italy was deliberately blocking a peaceful settlement, and, on the ground that the latest developments had made direct negotiation between the two States practically impossible, demand was voiced in all sections of the press that the entire matter be carried to Geneva for an airing before the officials of the League. Furthermore, in order to put the Government in a stronger position and remove any suspicion of disagreement on foreign policy, the Uzuno-

vitch Cabinet was reconstructed, as follows:

M. VELYA VUKITCHEVITCH (Radical)—Prime Minister, Interior and Education.

DR. VOYISLAV MARINKOVITCH (Democrat)—Foreign Affairs.

M. ILIA SHUMENKOVITCH (Democrat)—Public Works.

M. KOSTA KOUMANOUDI (Democrat)—Mines and Forests.

M. ATZA MIYEVITCH (Democrat)—Social Affairs.

MEHMED EFFENDI SPAHO (Bosniak)—Commerce.

M. VLADA ANDRITCH (Radical)—Agrarian Reform, Public Health.

M. SVETOZAR STANKOVITCH (Radical)—Agriculture.

M. NINKO PERITCH (Radical)—Without portfolio.

DR. MILAN SRSHKITCH (Radical)—Public Worship.

M. BOGDAN MARKOVITCH (Radical)—Finance.

GENERAL HAJITCH (Non-Party)—War.

GENERAL MILOSAVLYEVITCH (Non-Party)—Communications.

The new Ministry took office on April 10 as a broadly national Government which could be expected to have the full support of the Skupshtina (which has been prorogued until August) and accordingly to feel warranted in adopting the aggressive foreign policy demanded by the Radical and Peasant leaders.

It was semi-officially reported from Belgrade on April 20 that the new Cabinet had decided to take up with the Great Powers both the question of the Tirana treaty and the Italian charges of Yugoslav military preparations, but probably to do it directly in London, Paris and Berlin rather than through the medium of the League. It was surmised, however, that before undertaking this, the Yugoslav Government would seek to complete the treaty with Bulgaria which has been in process of negotiation, to strengthen the country's position in the Little Entente at the May meeting of that organization, and, possibly, to fortify its position in still another direction by opening preliminary negotiations for full recognition of Russia. Intentions in the last-mentioned matter were admittedly unformed, but it is known that there has been a struggle behind the scenes at Belgrade for and against a policy of recognition, and that the Vukitchevitch Cabinet is more favorably disposed than was its predecessor. Press correspondents in Belgrade considered it rather probable that overtures to Moscow will be made if the Western Powers show a disposition to support the Italian side in the

present or any future dispute between the two Adriatic nations. On April 28 the Yugoslav Foreign Minister stated that there was "no need that the labors of the League be complicated by the settlement of this question."

"Yugoslavia's present Cabinet," says a *New York Times* dispatch of April 20, "while willing to barter Soviet recognition for more useful support further west, is not making an idle threat and will undoubtedly deal with Moscow if nothing better is offered elsewhere. The opponents of the Soviets in Belgrade, aware of the danger of recognition, were active last week attempting to turn public opinion in their favor, but in treating with the various party leaders they were, for the most part, unsuccessful. Their strongest support comes from King Alexander, who, though he rarely mixes in politics, is outspoken against Russian recognition and probably would oppose, as far as he is able, any steps toward an agreement with Moscow. There is noticeable a change in press comment, which is swinging toward a favorable view of Soviet support against Italy, but it is commonly admitted that nothing will be done in this direction until Yugoslavia and the Great Powers have talked over the Albanian affair."

## Greece

MOST important of the events in Greece during the month was the final settlement of the Greek war debt to England. The agreement fixes the debt at £21,441,450 (\$103,991,032), to be paid over a period of sixty-two years, at the end of which time England will have the principal plus a small interest charge. The first payments were made purposely low because of the problem of settling refugees from Asia Minor.

Admiral Konduriotis, the Provisional President, discouraged over the delay of the Coalition Cabinet in voting the new Constitution, presented his resignation on April 19, but was persuaded by Premier Zaimis to carry on until May, and withdrew his resignation on May 5, agreeing to remain in office until September. Early in April there was a serious Ministerial crisis over the question of appointment of the head of the gendarmerie.



# Price Reduction in the Soviet Union

By ARTHUR B. DARLING

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THE elaborate report on financial, industrial and commercial conditions in the Soviet Union, recently issued by the Soviet Government and summarized in *The New York Times* on April 3, contained significant admissions. This report established the fact that all previous Soviet estimates with regard to money in circulation and credits had contained errors arising from the attempt of the Government to express economic activities in which no money was used in terms of money transactions. One result was an overestimate of the volume of exports and imports. "The wrong assessment of these factors," said the report, "led to excessive estimates regarding the formation of capital and consequently to inflated issues, which in their turn gave rise to price increases and a dearth in commodities." And the report went on to say that the effect of these errors lasted "to the end of 1925, and could only be gradually removed during the following months."

Foreign readers of these statements were presumably expected to conclude that, as soon as the effect of these errors wore off, the high price level and the dearth in commodities would also disappear. But in *Izvestia* on April 5 appeared other significant admissions: "In the first quarter of the present year the cost of manufactured goods to the peasants was augmented by 11½ per cent. as compared with a year ago." Instead of the reduction of 5 per cent. in the cost of producing coal, which was ordered by the Supreme Economic Council at the beginning of the campaign for price reduction, there has been an increase. The reduction of 8 per cent. designated for iron ore has turned out to be an actual increase in costs of 10 per cent. Similar misfortunes have been experienced in the metallurgical and chemical industries; and in others those reductions of costs which have been secured have fallen short of the demands of the Supreme Economic Council. Americans in Moscow noted with humor—which to Moscovians perhaps seemed perverted—that the price of rubber overshoes was reduced 15 per cent. as Winter came to an end and that butter, eggs, milk and vegetables began to be cheaper, as they usually do almost every-

where in the world, with the approach of Spring. But the inhabitants of the Bolshevik capital could hardly dismiss as wry humor the further observations of those Americans who declared that much of the Soviet Government's difficulty in adjusting the production of commodities and their distribution at proper prices to meet the needs of the Russian people arises from ignorance, inefficiency, laziness and corruption. Last Summer Stalin vehemently denounced these weaknesses; the Government has ruthlessly punished many offenders. But the State industries and bureaus and cooperatives apparently still rival the stables of Augeas.

The report also contained the following statistics:

AGRICULTURE		
	1923-1924	1926-1927
State enterprises....	1,271,000,000	1,954,000,000
Cooperative enterprises.....	72,000,000	146,000,000
Private enterprises..	8,316,000,000	14,956,000,000
Total .....	9,659,000,000	17,056,000,000
INDUSTRY		
	1923-1924	1926-1927
State enterprises....	4,093,000,000	9,794,000,000
Cooperative enterprises.....	325,000,000	851,000,000
Private enterprises..	1,467,000,000	2,356,000,000
Total .....	5,885,000,000	13,001,000,000
TOTAL PRODUCTION		
	1923-1924	1926-1927
State enterprises....	5,364,000,000	11,748,000,000
Cooperative enterprises.....	397,000,000	997,000,000
Private enterprises..	9,783,000,000	17,312,000,000
Total .....	15,544,000,000	30,057,000,000

These figures indicate that since 1923 the peasants—as private enterprisers—have largely extended agriculture in the Soviet Union, and that now in 1926-1927 they control more than 87 per cent. of all agricultural undertakings. On the other hand, the statistics show that the Government had the preponderance in industry over private companies in 1923, and in 1926-1927 has an even greater proportion of industrial undertakings in its control—fully 75 per cent.

Those who read these statistics were asked to see that the "share of agriculture in the turnover of commodities amounts to

only about 40 per cent. of the total agricultural production; the remainder, being consumed by the peasant population itself, does not reach the open market." And, even though the agricultural population still outnumbers the industrial and continues to grow proportionately larger, the framers of the report would not have its readers underestimate the importance of industry in the economic life of Russia, "inasmuch as it amounts at present to about 40 per cent. of the total production and is constantly growing." But granting the importance of industry in Russia and recognizing the tight hold which the Government has upon it, we cannot minimize the other significant facts in this report.

Despite their lack of organization and leadership, even though they have little or no voice in the Government, private persons in Russia—the peasantry and some urban folk—produce more than 57 per cent. of the Soviet Union's commodities. And, in the case of agriculture, they exercise an amount of control that has been, and still is, distressing at times to the Soviet Government. This very report admits that 60 per cent. of the agricultural produce is consumed by the peasants themselves and never reaches "the open market" where the Government may get hold of it.

That the peasants not only outnumber the urban population six to one but also control the country's means of subsistence, is realized by high Soviet authorities, notwithstanding their continual talk of communizing agriculture in addition to industry. But it ought to be equally clear to the Soviet leaders that the peasants have looked upon themselves as private property holders ever since they seized the royal lands during the revolution. Judging from the reports of his speeches in the past two years, Stalin at least seems to understand that the future of Russia is largely in the hands of the peasantry and that, if their needs are not met and their wants appeased, there will be grave dangers ahead for the Soviet régime. But the evidence is increasing that price reduction by order of the Government is not the means for solving the vital problem of supplying the peasantry with agricultural implements, manufactured goods and a desire to support the Soviet State.

The results of the census of 1926, as reported to the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union by the head of the Central Statistical Department, show that the population of the Soviet Union is now 144,805,000, as compared with 135,600,000 in 1914 for the same territory. Soviet Russia

proper has 99,670,000 inhabitants, 69 per cent. of the total; the Ukraine 28,879,000, 20 per cent.; the Transcaucasian Federation of Socialist Soviet Republics 5,791,000, 4 per cent.; the White Russian Socialist Soviet Republic 4,926,000, the Uzbek Republic and the Tadjik Republic 4,562,000, the Turkoman Republic 987,000. The census further reveals that there has been an increase of urban population. Whereas the census of 1897 showed that there were fourteen cities with a population of 100,000 or more, there are now thirty cities with that population. The census of 1926 gives the population of Leningrad as 1,611,103 and of Moscow as 2,018,286. The next largest city is Kiev, with 491,333; then come Baku with 444,333, Odessa with 411,111 and Kharkov with 407,578.

The American engineer, H. L. Cooper, confirmed the report that he had been engaged by the Soviet Government as consulting engineer for the design and construction of the power project on the Dnieper River. He explained the project as follows:

The works will be built and financed by the Soviet Government and will cost approximately \$70,000,000 and require about six years for their construction. Eventually 650,000 horsepower will be installed in a modern hydroelectric plant, and a flight of three locks, lifting craft by the 120-foot high dam, will make the Dnieper River navigable from the Black Sea for a distance of about 600 miles through this great Ukraine coal, iron and wheat belt. The completion of this project will give Russia a vast



LITTLE RED RIDING HOOD IS GETTING WISE.

—Philadelphia Inquirer



unit of hydroelectric energy at a cost well below the average cost of hydroelectric energy in the United States and at the same time produce low costs of transportation for imports and exports through Kherson and east of Odessa. Low cost of power and navigation in this immediate vicinity of vast undeveloped and partially developed resources will serve as a great lever to promote and maintain a large industrial growth in industry and so help speed the day when the cost of manufactured goods can be greatly reduced.

The Soviet agency in Washington also announced that C. E. Stuart, an American power expert, left in March for the Soviet Union to make a study of the coal mines of the Don basin and the possibility of installing American machinery and coal mining methods. Mr. Stuart said:

I made a two months' visit to the Soviet Union last year on the invitation of the executive of the Donugol coal trust. I found the output per man considerably smaller than in the United States, due to lack of mechanical development. Their engineers and administrative heads were eager for constructive criticism and determined to modernize their mines along the lines of highest efficiency.

On April 10 the Congress of the Russian Socialist Soviet Republic assembled in Moscow. Its 1,400 members were packed into the State Opera House to listen to a memorial service for Dzherzinsky and Krassin, prominent Soviet leaders who died during the past year, to approve by a unanimous show of hands the Praesidium which had already been determined by the powers in the Communist Party and then to hear the Chief Commissar, Rykov, deliver a set speech which aroused no marked interest until he reached the Chinese issue. "The Chinese game," he declared, "will be won by the party with the strongest nerve, and Russia, although able to intervene in China and take reprisals, would not fall into the trap set by England and the other imperialists."

The Soviet Foreign Office announced on April 15 that an agreement had been signed on that day in Berlin to settle the differences between Switzerland and the Soviet Union. The announcement stated that the Swiss Government had expressed regret for the assassination of Vorovsky, the Soviet representative at the Lausanne Conference in 1923 and provided compensation for his family and that negotiations would be opened as soon as possible with regard to all questions pending between the two countries. With the adjustment of the difficulties between the Soviet Union and Switzer-



China: "If I can only get rid of the Bolshevik."

Soviet: "If I can only spread this revolution into a world revolution."

War: "If I can only match those two against the white Powers."

—Adams Service

land one of the obstacles to the participation of the Soviet Union in the conferences of the League of Nations at its seat in Geneva will have been removed.

Representatives of the cooperative wheat growers of Soviet Russia pledged themselves to the aim of international cooperation in the production and marketing of wheat at the World Wheat Pool Conference held at Kansas City on May 5. Saul G. Bron of Moscow, head of the Russian delegation, delivered to the conference the message that it was not the intention of the Russian cooperatives to "injure prices. Russia will sell at the world price and take her chances with the others," he said. "It will work out." Mr. Bron estimated that Russia would be exporting 100,000,000 bushels of wheat in the next two years.

The Soviet censor at Odessa returned a copy of CURRENT HISTORY for April to the offices of the magazine. No reason was given for its exclusion from Russia, but presumably the censor took exception to the report which it contained of Kerensky's remarks to American newspaper men upon his arrival in New York.

# Remaking the Army in Spain

By JOHN MARTIN VINCENT

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THE reorganization of the military system of Spain is proceeding with a celerity and security that would have seemed impossible a few years ago. Under the old political conditions the army had such influence that any attempt to reduce its size or to interfere seriously with its administration was regularly thwarted by the solid opposition of the service, with the threat of force, either open or implied. In the disjointed state of political parties this was enough to prevent changes in obvious evils that cried out for remedy. When the disasters in the early part of the war in Morocco clearly pointed to bad administration and Parliament again attempted to put things on a better basis, the military replied by forming *Juntas*, or associations of officers for the protection of their privileges. These organizations were so powerful that one Government was on the point of fusing them with the regular military system in the hope of keeping control, but the bill was too much for any party to support and the military societies were permitted to continue only as private enterprises. No diminution of influence, however, was evident.

Then came the Dictatorship, itself a military stroke, enthusiastically supported by the service and carried on for three years by a Cabinet of generals and admirals. Reform in organization remained as difficult as ever, particularly when it affected reduction of the number of officers. The officers of the Artillery, *corps d'élite* of the army, rose in rebellion and were with difficulty reduced to submission. On April 13 the trial of a large group of military officers and civilians, accused of conspiracy to overthrow the Government in June, 1926, came to a close. Captain-General Weyler, eighty-eight years of age, known to Americans since the Cuban War, was acquitted. He had not signed the manifesto, but said he agreed with it. General Aguilera, former Minister of War, was sentenced to six months and one day in jail. Colonel Segundo Garcia was sentenced to eight years in prison, and four other officers to six years. Other accused officers and most of the civilians

were acquitted. Such have been the difficulties in the path of reform. Discontent with the unconstitutional dictatorship may have had some part in these manifestations, but they have been chiefly due to the "die-hard" army traditions. Much credit is due to the present administration for putting through the new measures of efficiency.

Some of the outstanding points in this army reform have been recently published. The artillery has been much reduced. When the 1,200 officers who had been deprived of rank and pay for rebellion returned to duty on Dec. 1, they were obliged to swear that they would accept promotion by merit and not by seniority. The independent artillery brigade commands have been abolished and the brigadiers reduced from eighteen to ten. The corps was deprived of the control of ordnance and munition factories and the remount department transferred to other branches. Six regiments of heavy artillery and the instruction group have been suppressed, while the field artillery is being more adequately equipped.

The Infantry, Cavalry, Supply, Medical and Legal Corps have all been reorganized, many superfluous growths having been lopped off in the process. The General Staff has been suppressed and two new sections at the Ministry of War will undertake the duties of "Preparation for War" and "Instruction and Administration." The personnel of the department has been reduced about one-third. The organization of industries for war has been assigned to a central committee.

A General Military Academy has been created at Saragossa, where cadets will pass two years before choosing their arm of the service. They will complete their training in one of the five military academies.

In the past the Spanish Army was evenly distributed in garrisons all over the Peninsula, and purchased its requirements locally, even to its uniforms. The new system provides for greater centralization. Adequate training was impossible under the old system. In future the annual contingents are to be allotted to districts, in each of which



complete units are to be maintained at full strength to act as training units for officers and non-commissioned officers, who would otherwise live what is called "a garrison life without troops." By passing a certain number of months in these training areas officers will be able to obtain instruction in modern military science, and the army as a whole will be kept at maximum efficiency. Under the Two Years' Service bill some 250,000 men are liable to serve with the colors. The problem of feeding and equipping these numbers is difficult, since the ration cost per man has increased from 0.50 pesetas to 1.25 pesetas within the last few years, and forage and equipment also have become dearer. The contingent has therefore been reduced this year to 184,636 men, a decrease of 17,000 from 1926.

A field service uniform has been adopted for all arms, which will be distinguished only by their badges. The uniforms are to be supplied by a central *Junta*. A type of steel helmet is being experimented with, but the ordinary headdress is to be the *boina*, or soft Basque cap, though of a wider cut than the Basques wear. The new uniform coat is to be a double-breasted tunic, khaki in color, worn above loose breeches. Indeed, the uniform much resembles the familiar costume of the French *Chasseur Alpin*. It suits the Spanish infantryman, who is usually small.

In the Extraordinary Budget of 1926 more than 45 per cent. of the whole was allotted to national defence. Before December, 1936, about \$271,000,000 is to be expended upon armament, equipment and the machinery of mobilization. In view of the former top-heavy system this is not preparation for war but for efficiency.

Common action against Bolshevism in Spain and Portugal was discussed on May 4, at Madrid, by General Martinez-Anido, Spanish Minister of the Interior, and the Chief of Public Security of Portugal, who had gone to the Spanish capital to conclude a joint agreement. No immediate action was reported.

It was reported on May 1 that the American Chamber of Commerce had held a conference, attended by the Consul General at Barcelona and the Commercial Attaché at Madrid, and had published a protest against the unfavorable position in which the United States had been placed by modification of the treaties of commerce concluded by Spain with Great Britain and France. The effect, it was pointed out, had been virtually to nullify the most-favored-nation clauses of the Spanish-American commer-

cial treaty and, in view of the fact that American goods were now subject to double the former duty, to make American competition with the nations favored by the modified treaties impossible.

A matter of much importance to Spain and to the commercial world is reported in a recent cablegram to *The New York Times*. Explorations at Robredo Ahedo, a small locality in the province of Burgos, have shown that oil is present there in commercial quantities. Numerous soundings at other places have rendered small amounts which did not warrant further effort, but now for the first time in Spain the quantity is sufficient for commercial exploitation.

## Norway

THE resumption of the sale of liquor marking the end of Prohibition in Norway, as determined by an amendment of the Prohibition law on March 18, caused less public commotion than had been anticipated. Outside the thirteen official stores from which liquor was purchasable, the lines of people were constant but never large, and the spectators outnumbered the buyers. Brandy and whisky were most in demand, while wines were not so popular. The majority of the customers were farmers who came in automobiles from the surrounding districts, which had failed to receive sale licenses.

Incorporated societies for the sale of liquor were restored, but it is sold only between fixed hours and not to persons under 21 years old. It cannot be forwarded by mail.

## Sweden

THE expedition to the interior of China planned by Sven Hedin, the famous Swedish explorer, was postponed owing to the growing Chinese animosity against foreigners generally. Dr. Hedin himself will remain in Peking hoping for a change in the situation, but his Swedish collaborators announced their intention to return home.

A change in public sentiment toward the selling of the Swedish coal mines on Spitzbergen—a change brought about by the coal shortage last Fall, due to the strike in England—induced the Riksdag to reconsider the question. The Royal Board of Trade decided to recommend retention of the mines.

The operating contract between the Government and the Graengesberg Mining Company was prolonged until Oct. 1, 1947,

making it possible for the company to sign long contracts with the German Ruhr industries for the delivery of Swedish iron ore. At the same time the right to increase the annual output from 8,000,000 tons to 9,000,000 tons was granted. The Graengesberg Company also strengthened its position on the international market by purchasing 90 per cent. of the stock in the iron mines in French North Africa.

The Riksdag rejected a proposal to increase the custom duties on motor cars. On the other hand a bill was passed granting a reduction in the import rates for parts. The City of Stockholm then signed definite agreements with the General Motors for the erection of an assembling plant in the port of that city.

King Gustav paid official visits to Madrid and Paris.

## Switzerland

ANCIENT jokes about the navy of landlocked Switzerland may have to be buried before long, for the Swiss flag has already reached the coast by way of the Rhine. At present, however, the mercantile marine consists only of tugs and barges. These do not operate, as a rule, beyond Rotterdam, although a few trips to England are made. New docks and exten-

sive harbor improvements have been completed at Basel to take care of freight sent up the Rhine from the Atlantic Ocean.

Along this 545-mile course the Rhine has been dredged and deepened to accommodate large vessels. In the two years preceding the World War approximately 100,000 tons of goods were shipped over this route, and since the war the waterway has been used still more extensively. Coal from the Ruhr and grain from Canada and the United States are loaded directly from the overseas vessels into Swiss tugs and barges waiting at Rotterdam.

Owing to its geographical position Basel, with its 150,000 population, plays a prominent part in international commerce. It lies at the head of Rhine navigation, for the cataracts between that point and Lake Constance prevent the use of large boats. Plans to build locks around the Falls of the Rhine have been frequently considered, but the advantages to be gained for the short additional distance are problematical. Basel is likewise an important railway junction and several international air lines connect it with the outside world. The commercial and banking interests have been for a long time prominent in Europe, but it is interesting to note that the Swiss mercantile marine will be represented at the annual Swiss Industries Fair for the first time this year.

[TURKEY AND THE NEAR EAST]

## British Policy in the Near East

By ALBERT H. LYBYER

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DURING the past 100 years, more or less, the English attitude toward the question of the Near East in practically all its ramifications has been determined mainly by the conception that the control of communications with India is a chief interest, perhaps the chief interest, of the British Empire. Napoleon I called attention to the possible restoration of the short route to southern and eastern Asia, which had been superseded during three hundred years by the longer but more open route around Africa. When, after some seventeen years of almost unbroken warfare, the mighty Corsican had suffered final defeat, a short breathing spell ensued. Then came the realization that the Russian dream

of controlling Constantinople and dominating the eastern end of the Mediterranean Sea might before long come true. At the same time the invention of the steamship made possible much more regular and controllable travel in the treacherous waters of the Mediterranean and Red Seas.

Thus from about the year 1830 England became actively interested first, in preventing the control by any other Power, and particularly by Russia, of Near Eastern lands and waters, and, second, in the acquisition by herself of various means of control. She had held Malta from the year 1803 and the Ionian Islands from 1809. For a long time she was contented in the Levant with upholding the power of Turkey as a



buffer State between Russia and the Mediterranean road. She began, however, to take an active interest in Arabian lands with the acquisition of Aden in 1839. This move marks, perhaps, the abandonment of a serious attempt on her part to establish a route along the Euphrates River. The latter plan involved a sea voyage to Alexandria or some other Syrian port, a land transit to the river Euphrates, the improvement of that river for navigation and the establishment thereon of a line of river steamers as far as Basra or another port near the Persian Gulf, and a sea voyage to an Indian or further eastern port. Aden marked a position on what was misnamed the "Overland Route," which involved a voyage to Alexandria and a trip by land or river to Cairo, a comparatively short desert journey to Suez and the use of steamers thence, nine-tenths of the perils of navigation in the Red Sea having been removed by the new form of locomotion.

This route was for some time available only for the transit of passengers, mails and the more costly forms of goods. But the British interest was sufficient to inspire active interference against the separation of Egypt from Turkey under predominant French influence, and against the encroachments of Russia upon the territorial integrity and political independence of Turkey. Lord Palmerston decried the proposal and opposed the plan for a Suez Canal. But when French enterprise had seen the project through, it soon became evident that alike from the political and the commercial points of view the Suez Canal was far more valuable to England than to any other country. Hence the purchase by Disraeli of a controlling interest in the canal, the Cyprus convention which placed that strategically located island in the power of Britain and the "temporary occupation" of Egypt, including the peninsula of Sinai, a bridgehead in Asia for the protection of the canal.

British attention to the Persian Gulf dates much further back, to the time of the displacement of the Portuguese pre-eminence in those waters. This question increased rapidly in importance as the new through route gained traffic until it became a vast artery of imperial trade and power. At the same time the Russian pressure toward "the warm water and the open sea" made itself felt across Persia from north to south. A British company secured the exclusive rights of steam navigation on the River Tigris, and another British company began to exploit the rich petroleum deposits in southwestern Persia.

A group arose in England which looked forward to the dominance by Britain of Arabia and southern Persia with the adjoining lands, so as ultimately to establish British rule unbrokenly from Egypt to India. In one or another way this plan lay counter to the desires not only of France and Russia, but also of Germany, Austria and Italy. With the Entente Cordiale of 1904 and the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 bickerings ceased for a time as regards Russia and France. But fear as regards the German intentions rose to a predominant place.

Covetings that had remained concealed came into the open at the outbreak of the Great War. In order to keep her principal allies pleased, Britain was obliged to mortgage the future with promises, not all of which were consistent with her outstanding policies. Germany was of course to be excluded from the ownership of lands and the maintenance of decisive commercial interests in the Near East. But Russia must be promised not only the Armenian regions of Turkey, but Constantinople itself and the control of both Straits. France could not be refused her demand for Syria and a large block of southern Asia Minor. The price demanded by Italy for her active participation in the war included southwestern and part of central Asia Minor. But England was able to preserve for herself the complete control of Egypt and Mesopotamia and the overlordship of the greater part of Arabia. Palestine was at first designed to be internationally controlled, but England later added this territory to her Asiatic bridgehead east of the Suez Canal. She also negotiated with France to transfer the possession of Mosul to British control. As regards Persia, neither Russia nor Britain, like Germany on the other side, respected the neutrality of the country. Russia operated freely in the North and Britain in a much larger area in the South than had been assigned to her by the Convention of 1907.

The military and naval activities of Britain in the Near East during the war exceeded greatly those of her allies. She bore the brunt of the disastrous Dardanelles campaign and she carried most of the load in the advances into Mesopotamia and Palestine. Through Colonel Lawrence and other equally useful but less spectacular agents, she won over the greater part of the Arabs of both western and eastern Arabia together with Mesopotamia. She drew extensively upon the man power of Egypt, holding a firm hand upon the government of

the country and utilizing its resources fully, while sidetracking discontent by liberal financial payment and unstinted promises of political liberties after the war.

The armistice with Turkey was negotiated by an English Admiral. At the time of its signing, British Generals were administering Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia. The occupation was carried northward into Cilicia. Although only one of the four "Oetas" (Occupied Enemy Territory Administrations)—namely, "Oeta South," was fully in British hands, while "Oetas West and North" were in French hands and "Oeta East" in Arab hands under Prince Feisal, nevertheless, General Allenby was in supreme command of all four, and British officers represented him alongside the French and Arab commanders. When in November, 1918, allied contingents occupied Constantinople, here also the British were in the lead.

There is no occasion for surprise at the fact that a group of British "Easterners" conceived in the succeeding months a vast but dangerous plan. The old Russian Government, to which promises had been made, had been swept away. The new Government was obnoxious in its political and economic principles, was believed to be weak and was disposed to abandon deliberately its imperialistic claims. France was sorely weakened, by her heavy part in the war and appeared to be principally concerned with the German settlement. Italy was scorned for her hard bargaining and her lack of conspicuous success during most of the war. It seemed possible, therefore, that Britain might throw the frontier of her predominant influence in the Near East far to the North. Aspiring Englishmen talked of a mandate for Britain over Constantinople. Greece was allowed vast extension of territory with the apparent expectation that her troops, unwasted in the great struggle, could be used under British guidance to beat down the Turks and even help gain control of Southern Russia. The "White" Generals Denikin and Wrangel were supplied with vast stores of munitions. Britain seized control of the oil territories at Baku and of the port of Batum and the connecting railway. Before the end of the war, a British cordon had been established northward across Eastern Persia and for a time held control of the Trans-Caspian Railway. In the Summer of 1919 a treaty was purchased from the Shah which would have put Persia thoroughly into the hands of Britain. Afghanistan was, of course, expected to continue with the British sphere of influ-

ence. Thus, for a short time there was some prospect of British suzerainty in practically the whole of Western and Southern Asia, as well as in neighboring portions of South-eastern Europe and Northeastern Africa.

This magnificent scheme suffered serious deflation in the later part of 1919 and the first half of 1920. France insisted upon the control of Syria and Cilicia. Egypt agitated vigorously for the promised independence. King Hussein of the Hedjaz, and Sultan Ibn Saud of Nejd warred with each other and were each too ambitious to please the British Imperialists. Furthermore, all the Arabs claimed that Britain had betrayed them by false promises of liberty. The British people at home were demanding the return of the troops and the reduction of expenses. Partial withdrawal from Mesopotamia was followed by an Arab uprising. The Greeks proved unable to whip the Turks and unwilling to fight the Russians. Nobody else approved a British mandate over Constantinople. The British Cabinet was obliged to order withdrawal from Trans-Caspia and Trans-Caucasia. Another party came to power in Persia and repudiated the Treaty of 1919. The British Labor Party looked askance upon the use of force in Egypt, and opposed the Zionist scheme in Palestine, and any occupation or control in Iraq.

By the Summer of 1923 the situation had settled down to a *modus vivendi* which, on the whole, has prevailed ever since. Egypt was declared independent except for certain reserved points. While Palestine could not be persuaded to accept representative government of the type offered, conditions became quieter under the direct British administration. Subsidies were withdrawn from Hussein and Ibn Saud and a struggle began which was to result in the expulsion of the former and his family from the Hedjaz. The French attained temporary quiet in their administration of the unwilling Syrians. A new system was devised for Iraq, involving the election of Feisal as King and the setting up of a Constitutional Government in treaty relationship with Britain. The Greeks, having thrown out Venizelos, and having been beaten by the Turks in war, were abandoned. Inasmuch as British public opinion would not support an active war upon the Turks, it was necessary to yield them complete independence. Russia, under the Soviet form of government, recovered control of all her southern territories except Bessarabia and portions of Armenia. Persia employed American advisers. Afghanistan, after a change of sov-



ereigns, declared war and was recognized as independent, not receiving any subsidy.

The boundary of British control in Western Asia became established at an irregular line between Palestine and Syria, Transjordan and Syria, and Iraq and Turkey. The bulk of Arabia came under the independent control of King Ibn Saud. Italy obtained special rights in the Yemen. England continued to predominate in Aden and Southeastern Arabia.

Under the Baldwin Government the British Near Eastern policy became stable in a way dear to the British heart. An exception, near the beginning of Baldwin's second term in office, was the severe treatment of Egypt after the murder of Sir Lee Stack, Nov. 19, 1924. To some extent the declaration recognizing independence was rescinded. For about eighteen months the Government of Egypt was not conducted under the Constitution, nor was the Prime Minister the choice of the people according to regular methods. Under the guidance of Sir George Lloyd, who became Lord Lloyd, conditions in time became almost unprecedently calm. An election a year ago gave back the control very largely to Egyptians, although their famous leader, Zaghlul Pasha, was not permitted to become Prime Minister. The settlement of reserved questions was deferred. Practically, however, the Sudan has been taken completely under British control, and the British continue to maintain garrisons, in a very unobtrusive way, in Cairo and Alexandria and near the Suez Canal. The protection of foreign interests goes on as before.

Lord Plumer, High Commissioner for Palestine, has likewise preserved calm and order. Conversations have taken place looking toward the introduction of a measure of self-government, but the Arab majority has not yet consented to so much recognition of the Zionist plan as the British authorities feel would be in conformity with the Balfour declaration. Transjordan, enlarged by the inclusion of Akaba and neighboring territories, has been quiet and peaceful. The difficult question of handling properly the frontier with Syria during the time of insurgency has been managed well, so that neither the Druses and Syrian Nationalists, on the one side, nor the French authorities, on the other side, have found reason to complain.

In Arabia the local chieftains were left on the whole to settle matters among themselves. The boundary lines with Transjordan and Iraq were settled by amicable negotiations. Discussions have taken place

with King Ibn Saud, but no new agreement has been reached.

Sir Henry Dobbs has been exceptionally successful in maintaining good relations with all groups in Iraq. A truly remarkable state of quiet with steady efforts toward progress in many directions has resulted. Though King Feisal was brought from outside the country, he has made good. The northern boundary, after the many vicissitudes connected with "the Mosul question," has been agreed upon with Turkey. The "Turkish Petroleum Company" is about to begin prospecting the supposed extensive oil fields of the region.

A similar policy of dignified calm prevails in the relations of England with Turkey and Persia. No trace remains of the policy of intervention and attempted control that was so conspicuous eight years ago. These two countries together with Afghanistan are enjoying a phase of complete independence. Each of the three under varying forms of government is following the behest of a single leader of marked ability, whose face is set steadily toward modernization. The more successful this process becomes in each country, the more advantage Britain may hope to reap, being still the leading trading nation of the world.

The principal immediate signs of forward activity are fittingly connected with the controlling reason for England's forceful presence in the Near East—the security and improvement of communications. Recent announcements include the inauguration of a motor transport line across the Syrian desert wholly on land controlled by Britain. Starting from Haifa, the Jordan valley will be crossed south of the Sea of Galilee and the desert will be traversed to the Rutba Wells. So far the track is somewhat more rugged than those through Damascus and Palmyra. From Rutba Wells to Bagdad the familiar trail of the Nairn Company will be followed. At the same time the wartime talk has been revived of a railway along substantially the same route across the Syrian desert. Of far greater significance is the inauguration of regular passenger airplane service between London and India. The trial trips, already carried through successfully, have crossed Egypt, Palestine and the Syrian desert through Bagdad, Basra and on across Southern Persia to Karachi. Who knows but that within a few years or decades one of the major airways of the earth will be in operation, thus paralleling the supremely important seaway between Western Europe and Southern and Eastern Asia?

The Turkish budget for the fiscal year 1927-28 is balanced for the first time in Turkish history. Revenues and expenditures amount to \$97,000,000 and of this amount \$29,000,000 is to be appropriated for national defense and \$13,000,000 for public works.

Announcement was made early in April that the Turkish Government had accepted in principle an offer of a \$20,000,000 American loan for railway and other construction in Asia Minor. Belgian and French engineers have begun the study in Turkey of plans for the railways between Caesarea, Sivas and Turkhal, as well as for the new port works at Samsun for which initial capital has been entirely subscribed to the amount of \$5,700,000.

## Egypt

THE Ministry resigned on April 18 because of defeat on a minor question during the discussion of the Parliamentary Finance Commission's report on the budget. A motion was presented thanking the Government for its support of the Misr Bank in its endeavors to develop Egyptian industries. Premier Adly Pasha regarded the rejection of this motion as a vote of want of confidence and tendered his resignation to the King.

The aged statesman, Zaghlul Pasha, who is President of the Chamber and leader of the Nationalist party, was in poor health at the time of the crisis, or at least this reason was announced for his refusing to resume the Premiership. It is not unlikely, however, that he foresaw the failure of the British authorities to sanction his assumption of office. Conversations took place between him and Sarwat Pasha and Sarwat finally agreed to form a Ministry, stipulating, however, that his Cabinet should receive more friendly and cooperative treatment in Parliament than had lately been accorded to Adly Pasha. The new Cabinet is as follows:

ABDEL KHALEK PASHA SARWAT—Prime Minister and Interior.

FATHALLAH PASHA BARAKAT—Agriculture.

MORCOS PASHA HANNA—Foreign Affairs.

OSMAN PASHA MOHARRAM—Public Works.

NEGIB PASHA GHARABLY—Wakfs.

ALI PASHA SHAMSY—Finance.

ZAKI PASHA ABDUL SEUD—Justice.

MOHAMED PASHA MAHMUD—Education.

AHMED PASHA KHASHABA—Communications.

The Parliamentary Finance Committee recommended new taxation, with the object of obtaining funds for public works, particularly an income tax, which would bear

upon foreign residents as well as upon natives. Such a tax would require the consent of the European powers, since Egypt has not, like Turkey, been released from the capitulations so as to control her own taxes and tariffs.

Recent discussions in the Egyptian press propose a settlement of the reserved points in Britain's declaration of 1922 concerning Egypt somewhat as follows: The British Army of Occupation should be withdrawn east of the Suez Canal, except for certain air units; British military officers and civil officials should retire from the service of the Egyptian Government; the capitulations should be abolished as regards British subjects and Egypt should be free to negotiate with other Powers in the same direction; a perpetual treaty should be signed by Egypt and Great Britain, in which the latter would guarantee the territorial integrity and the security of Egypt; Egypt would not be expected to provide fighting units in case Britain became engaged in war, but would accord British troops free movement on Egyptian territory; the Condominium in the Sudan should allow greater participation of the Egyptian Government in the employment of officials; the Egyptian Government should appoint at least some of the officials who control the upper waters of the Nile. British opinion points out that these proposals require England to protect Egypt and promise little or nothing in return.

## Syria

ON March 12 the French Government declared to the Council of the League of Nations that it had not been able to frame and present an organic law for Syria and the Lebanon, as contemplated last September. The French mandate for Syria came into force Sept. 29, 1923. It contemplated the presentation within three years of that date of a "statut organique" for Syria and the Lebanon. On Sept. 20, 1926, a six months' extension of the time was requested from and granted by the Council. In asking further delay, M. Briand, French Foreign Minister, called attention to the fact that the new Constitution, according to the mandate, should "take account of the rights, interests and wishes of all the populations inhabiting the said territory." He stated that because of the diverse communities in the country, the opposition in their different rights, interests and wishes, and the desire of some to set up an autonomous régime, it had not been possible to work out satisfactory





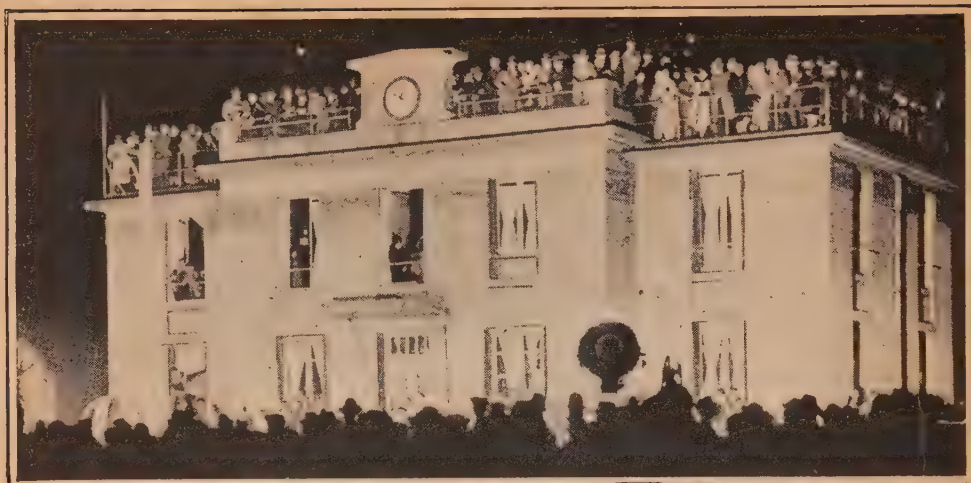
Wide World

A photograph taken by time exposure of the crowd at Le Bourget when Lindbergh landed



Wide World

Crowds gathered in Paris for the civic reception to Lindbergh



Crowds at Le Bourget waiting for Lindbergh's arrival

Wide World

the longest trip I had made was in bringing my ship from San Diego to St. Louis. That Wright motor I have is certainly wonderful. It hasn't been touched since I left San Diego. That is to say, it has been running sixty hours without any trouble. It has been checked, but it hasn't been

touched in any way, and today when I looked at it it seemed as sound as ever.

About my trip, there wasn't any of that casual unpreparedness which some people seem to think there was. I had everything of the very best, and every care was taken in the preparation of the trip. The actual



P. &amp; A.

Lindbergh at a window of the Aero Club in Paris acknowledging the cheers of the crowd by waving the American and French flags



adjustments. He promised that France would continue actively to labor at this task, and hoped that the appeasement of spirit and re-establishment of order would hasten the completion of the task.

The French press reports increasing calm and tranquillity in all parts of Syria. The Syrian and Palestinian committees which work for independence from offices in Geneva and Cairo are represented to have changed their tone and are said to be ready to accept any solution which France may propose, provided it conforms to the Syrian aspirations. Such a statement is, of course, ambiguous.

French military operations were carried on late in March in the Lejja, or volcanic plateau between Damascus and the Druse Mountains. It was announced that all objectives had been reached and that serious losses had been inflicted upon the "insurgents."

## Iraq

BAGDAD witnessed early in February a "Town and Gown" riot, involving some casualties. Anis Effendi en-Nusuli, Professor of History and Geography in the Normal School, published recently a book on the Ommeyyad Government at Damascus. He is alleged to have stated that Moavia was more worthy of the Caliphate than his rival, Ali, and inasmuch as a great part of the population of Bagdad is Shiite, and therefore holds Ali in the highest esteem, a demonstration arose, in which certain Shiite students appeared before the Ministry of Public Instruction. When the police tried to disperse them they threw stones and fought, with the result that two policemen and eight students were killed and twenty-eight persons were wounded. Thereupon the Minister of Public Instruction invited Professor en-Nusuli to resign, and upon his refusal dismissed him. The students then organized a demonstration in favor of the professor and another fight ensued, with a similar number of casualties. The Minister then resigned, but the King refused to assemble the Parliament. Professor en-Nusuli departed for Beirut, while at the same time a question over com-

pulsory military service provoked a Ministerial crisis.

However, the Prime Minister and certain notables conferred together and presently restored order. The students who demonstrated last claimed to be moved not by a desire to support the views of Professor en-Nusuli, but by strong approval of freedom of thought in teaching.

## Arabia

IBN SAUD, whose fuller name is Abdul Aziz ibn Abdur Rahman ibn Feisal es Saud, has consolidated his titles of Sultan of Nejd and King of the Hedjaz into the form "King of the Hedjaz and of Nejd and its Dependencies." The usual list of his Arabian dependencies includes El Hasa, Katif, Jubail, Shammar, El Jauf and the great part of Assir.

The Arabic press contemplates an alleged intention of England to form an Arabian economic federation in the Near East, under her economic and political influence. Attention is called to plans for railway construction from El-Arish through Beersheba, Hebron and Jerusalem, across the Jordan Valley to Amman and over the desert to Kerbela and Bagdad, with a secondary line from Port Fuad to Tel Aviv, Beisan and Amman.

## Persia

D R. ARTHUR C. MILLSPAUGH, head of the American financial mission to Persia, was reported on May 4 to have informed the Persian authorities that he would not accept a new contract, when the present one expires in September, if his power is to be curtailed.

Since 1914 Persia has taken the place as leading exporter of Oriental rugs into the United States which was formerly held by Turkey. In 1926 Persia sent 888,000 square yards, valued at \$7,356,000, and Turkey sent 400,000 square yards, valued at \$2,400,000.

The Government has established a radio monopoly and ordered the dismantling of the English, Russian, French and German installations now in operation.

# The Japanese Financial Crisis

By QUINCY WRIGHT

PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO; CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

THE financial crisis, which began with bank failures in March, developed serious proportions during April. Suzuki Company, Ltd., which was credited in 1926 with conducting one-quarter of Japan's entire trade, failed on April 5, with liabilities of about \$250,000,000, and was reported on May 3 to be completely disintegrated, its subsidiaries being absorbed by the Mitsubishi firm. Its difficulties were a direct heritage of the 1923 earthquake. About 67,000,000 yen of its liabilities were, in fact, earthquake notes, which the Government was obliged to meet under recent legislation. The Privy Council objected, on April 17, to the Government's plan for an advance of 200,000,000 yen to the Taiwan Bank (the semi-official bank of Formosa), one of Suzuki's principal creditors, on the ground that the Diet should have been summoned, and as a result the Wakatsuki Cabinet resigned.

Baron Tanaka, head of the Seiyukai Party and a member of the Choshu Clan, accepted the Premiership on April 18. He has twice been Minister of War and occupied that office at the time of the conquest and annexation of Korea. The appointment conforms to the customary practice of Parliamentary Government, as Tanaka was head of the Opposition, but the fact that the Wakatsuki Government was thrown out by the Privy Council, though it commanded a Parliamentary majority, is a situation peculiar to Japan. The Cabinet follows:

BARON TANAKA—Prime Minister and Foreign Minister.

KISABRO SUZUKI—Home Minister.

ADMIRAL KEISUKE OKADA—Navy.

GENERAL ICHISUKE TSUNO—Army.

YOSHIMISHI HARI—Justice.

KOREKIYO TAKAHASHI—Finance.

SHUZO MITSUSHI—Education.

HEIKICHI OGAWO—Railways.

TEIJIRO YAMAMOTO—Agriculture.

NEISUKE MOCHIZUKI—Communications.

TOKUGORO NAKAHASHI—Commerce and Industry.

The new Government's intention is to pursue a stronger policy both in finance and protection of citizens in China than its predecessor. Baron Tanaka declared on April 22 that the chief immediate aim in domestic policy was to clear up the economic unrest, invigorate the national spirit, and, on the basis of the fundamental policy of the industrialization of Japan, to renovate administrative methods, improve education, decentralize administration, develop agrarian districts, enforce social policies and maintain sanctity of the Imperial power.

A three weeks' bank moratorium was declared by an Imperial edict and on April 28 the Cabinet approved a 500,000,000 yen loan bill which would guarantee the Bank of Japan. The note issues of the bank were dangerously inflated and it was feared that foreign exchange would be affected.

With regard to foreign policy, Baron Tanaka on April 21 referred to the speech he had recently made at a Seiyukai Party meeting as authoritative. In this he had said:

The disturbances in China threaten to penetrate the zone of Japanese interests. Events in the South have damaged this country's prestige. Our national flag has been trampled on and our nationals have undergone the utmost humiliation. The red waves are encroaching on China. This is not the time to regard the troubles there as far on the other side of the river. The disturbances in China have gone beyond the limits of domestic disputes. They are endangering the Far East and threatening the peace of the world. Japan should take the initiative, if necessary, in co-operating with other Powers for effective steps to cope with the situation. We believe such steps inevitable. If we continue to remain indifferent, professing non-intervention, it will mean that Japan will throw away her influence in the Orient. Japan should adopt improved policies for the protection of her interests and prestige.





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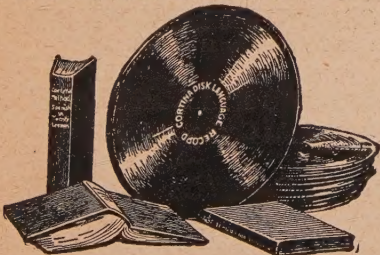
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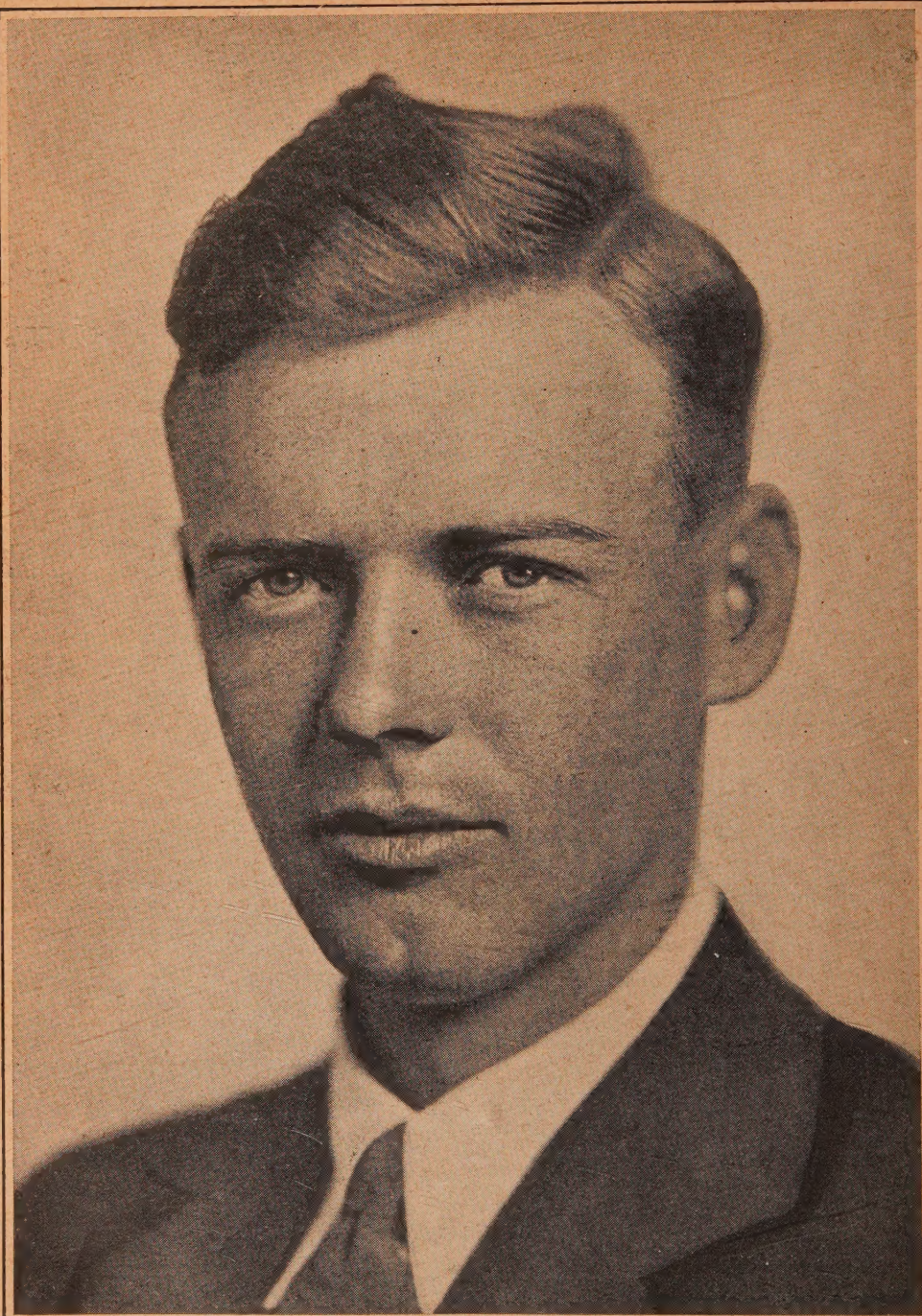
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CHARLES A. LINDBERGH

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